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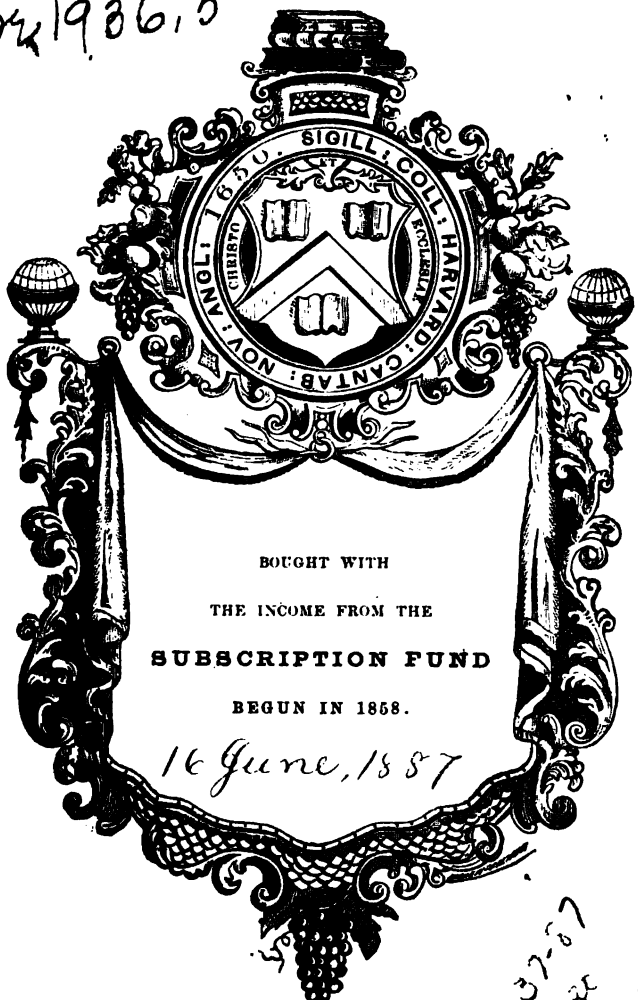

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MEMOIRS OF THOMAS PAPILLON.

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THOMAS PAPILLON,

Of London, Merchant, &c.,

BORN 6th SEP., 1623, DIED 5th MAY, 1702.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS PAPILLON,

OF

LONDON, MERCHANT.

(1623—1702).

BY

A. F. W. PAPILLON,

A LINEAL DESCENDANT.

COMPILED CHIEFLY FROM AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS,

WITH FAMILY AND OTHER PORTRAITS, ETC.

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Preface.

THE following Memoirs are compiled from original documents, chiefly autograph MS.S. of their subject, now in possession of Philip Oxenden Papillon, of Crowhurst, Battle, through the kindness of whom, and of his Father, the Compiler has had access to their contents.

The varied virtues and failings of Thomas Papillon, of London, form a picture worthy of study; his Huguenot origin, his mercantile position, the times in which he lived, and his unswerving trust in God, all lend their colours to the scene.

Integrity, industry, energy, and piety were the leading points of his character. As a merchant, he was active, intelligent, and successful; as a politician, sincere and loyal; as a financier, he was not in advance of his day; as a theologian, he was sound and earnest.

Though of foreign descent, he was a true Englishman.

Beginning life with small means, he rose to wealth and eminence.

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Living in an age when Civil Government was unsettled, and Commerce still in its infancy, he took an active part in both, though only as circumstances required.

While always ready to espouse the cause of Justice and Liberty, he was ever loyal to his Sovereign, and disposed to peace.

Though decided in his views, he was never a slave party.

Imbued from youth with strong religious feelings, had grace to maintain them through life. He was diligent student of God's Word, and wrote several sou religious essays.

When called to suffer for his support of Civil ar Civic rights, and finding exile necessary, he patient submitted, and rejoiced in his seclusion, as affording tim for reflection. His most valuable papers are of th period.

Restored to his native land, and to his place i Parliament, he resolutely declined Civic honours, bu was persuaded by the King to accept office unde Government;—still retaining his independence of views.

His dearest earthly enjoyment was that of the family circle, and the records of his worthy consort form an interesting feature of the Memoirs.

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Introduction.

BEFORE entering on a record of the Life and Times of Thomas Papillon, it may be well to glance at his ancestry and their surroundings, as well as his contemporaries still in France: for his family was of French Protestant origin; and that involved a good deal where the descendant followed suit.

The Reformation dawned on France before Luther had posted his theses on the Church door of Wittenberg, and the truth was eagerly embraced, especially by the educated classes; but in no country was the struggle between light and darkness so protracted and so severe.

From its first appearance in 1512, the Reformation was vehemently and virulently decried by the Papal Clergy: the chief University, the Sorbonne, of Paris, declared against it: the Courts of Law (Parlements) of Paris and the Provinces were almost all against it; and Kings, Queens and Councillors of State, jealous of infringement on their own power—and incited, bribed, and pampered by Popes—joined with the Priests in "Death to the Heretics!"

Notwithstanding all this, the Reformed increased in numbers and influence, and violent persecutions ensued: And on the Massacre of Vassy, by the Duke de Guise, in 1562, reprisals were made, and the flame of Civil and Religious War burst over the land. This was the one fault and crime of the Reformed, the attempt to support the spiritual by the temporal sword; it wrought untold evils among them, and at last caused

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their utter extinction. Before accepting the office of martial leader, the great and good Coligny would gladly have withheld his hand and that of others; but his pious Wife, they say, urged him to go forward on behalf of his oppressed brethren in the faith.

In the early days of the Reformation in France, Francis I. was King; a man able in war, accomplished and liberal in peace, but greedy of glory and reprobate in morals. His pious sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême, was able to deter him frequently from allowing the Reformed to be persecuted, but with a view in the first instance to conquer the Milanese, and afterwards to secure immunity from his breach of contract with Charles V. of Spain, and to recover from him his hostage sons—he sold himself to the Pope, and more and more abetted most cruel persecutions of the Reformed.

He reigned thirty-two years, dying in 1547.

His son, Henri II., succeeded him, and married Catherine de Medici; and at her coronation he caused four Lutherans to be burnt; one of them had confuted him in controversy; so he resolved to witness his sufferings at the stake. But from that place of torment the conquering victim gazed on the King with such calmness and courage that the latter could bear it no longer, and vowed he would never again attend such a scene. But he repented not!

The Reformed increased in numbers, and persecution increased. In 1559, at the age of forty, and after twelve years' reign, Henri II. died from the wound of a lance at a tournament; leaving a son and heir only nine years old.

Then, for forty years, Catherine de Medici and the two brothers Guise, Duke and Cardinal, ruled France for the Pope with a rod of iron: and then occurred the Religious Wars, which lasted thirty-five years, and cost France 2,000,000 of men, and £125,000,000 of money, present value.

In 1597 the Edict of Nantes gave rest to the Reformed; but in 1610 its author, Henri IV., was assassinated, and from that

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time forward they had an uneasy time of it. For nearly fifty years the kingdom was ruled by the Ministers Richelieu and Mazarin; both of them bent on strengthening the power of the Crown, and of weakening that of the Nobles, and of all others that might thwart them: and as the Reformed possessed certain political privileges (as well as some amount of Religious liberty), to the wall they must go. After a long siege, Richelieu took their chief stronghold, Rochelle—the English in vain appearing for its relief.

Persecutions from time to time were not lacking.

Under such circumstances Louis XIV. ascended the throne, about the time of the Restoration of Charles II. of England. Both Sovereigns were alike evil in their lives; but Louis was active, enterprising, politic, and powerful—the absolute king of a large, warlike, and wealthy people. As regards his treatment of the Reformed, suffice it to say that he began by forbidding the assembly of their Synods, and ended in driving them out of France by fire and sword. As to Charles, he was kind-hearted and generous, but indolent and easy, and little disposed to maintain his own rights or those of his Country.

Their mutual relationships will appear in the sequel.

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PHOTOGRAPHER,

David Papillon,

(Aged 73.)

BORN APRIL, 1581.
DIED MARCH, 1659.

S. V. WHITE, READING.

Anne Marie Papillon,

(Née Calandrini.)

BORN 1591.
DIED 1675.

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CHAPTER I.

LINEAGE—EDUCATION—APPRENTICESHIP AND EARLY LIFE.

David, father of Thomas Papillon, brought to England in 1588, when a boy; becomes an Architect and Military Engineer; Marries, first, Marie Castol; secondly, Anne Marie Calandrini, grand-daughter of Guilliano Calandrini, refugee from Lucca cir. 1560. David Papillon's father, Thomas, Captain of the Guard and Valet de Chambre to Henri IV.; his eldest son, Avocat au Parlement de Paris, and author of various legal works. The father of Thomas Papillon, Valet de Chambre, a victim of the Massacre in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day. Almaque Papillon, friend of Clement Marot, and Valet de Chambre to François I. Antoine Papillon, friend of Maigret and Erasmus. Brothers and sister of Thomas Papillon, of London.

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David Papillon, of Paris, son of Thomas, the Avocat—his imprisonment at Avranches, Normandy—is sent to England in 1688—joins Thomas Papillon, his first cousin, in Holland—Returns to England with him in 1689—His letters to his uncle David, and his cousin Thomas.

THOMAS PAPILLON was descended from an old French family, originally of Tours, but settled at Dijon in 1321.

His father, David Papillon, born on 14th April, 1581, was brought to England by his mother (Jeane Vieue de la Pierre), in 1588, when only seven years old. The vessel which brought them was wrecked on the coast of Kent, near Hythe; the mother was drowned, but the three children whom she

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brought—presumably Anne and Esther and himself—were saved. David became a military engineer and architect, built houses in the city and suburbs of London, and became a deacon of the French Church in London. On the 14th May, 1594, Anne and Esther were married in London, respectively to David Chambrelan, of Rouen, and to Abraham Chambrelan. Numerous French refugee families were then settled in London, as also in Southampton, Canterbury, Norwich, and other towns in England; and, doubtless, David Papillon and his sisters found a home among relatives. Their father was still in France, and a man of considerable means.

Of this family, Anne was born on 28th December, 1573, and Esther on 29th February, 1576; then Thomas, on 12th July, 1578, of whom more presently; and, after, David, Elizabeth (date of birth not given), married to Monsieur Breton, of Havre de Grace; and Peter (date of birth not given), married to Susanna, daughter of John Hersent, of Southampton, died childless. He was brought up by his brother David, and became a French silk-merchant, whether in France or England does not appear. He is said to have "dyed for dying crimson in grain."

David was enthusiastic in his profession of military engineer, and, in 1646, he fortified Gloucester for the Parliament. He seems to have been in advance of his time in the advocacy of detached forts on commanding positions; and he clearly had confidence in his views, as shown by the following extract from a work on "Fortification," which he had published in 1645, and which is still extant:—

"The Art of Fortification was invented to preserve men's habitations, and the suburbs of corporations, and not to burn

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or pull them down, as many of our engineers have done in these days, to their shame and guilt of conscience. For if an engineer, to comply with those in authority, or with the self-conceited men of a garrison, assent to pull down suburbs or small hamlets that are joined to their corporations, except they are suddenly in danger of a siege, it argues that he is either unskilful in his profession or void of all Christian charity and natural humanities; for by the experience of his art, or alteration of his method of fortification, he may preserve these suburbs or hamlets to the great advantage of the town, or of another fortification, and so dispose of his works that he may secure them. And yet the Corporation shall rather need fewer men to man their works than it would require when these hamlets are pulled down. This hath been the case at Leicester; for, had they not rejected a good counsel, they might assuredly have been preserved by a larger line of communication than there was by half a mile; for this line might have been defended with 300 men less than that they made, for the which they were enforced to pull down many honest men's houses, and draw a true imputation of inhumanity upon themselves. What greater inhumanity could these poor souls expect from their cruel enemies, than to see their houses burned or pulled down? And by this instance you may see how dangerous it is for Committees and Governors to be led away by the chat and ridiculous reasons of ignorant and self-conceited men, that make no conscience what mischief they do to others, so they secure themselves as they suppose; for it is often rather a supposition than a true security or preservation, because it falls out oftentimes that if these hamlets or suburbs be fortified they serve as bulwarks for the preservation of their town; and so, by pulling down of them they advance their own ruin to save some small charges, nay, they often increase them by pulling them down. For instance, it is supposed by the judgment of such men as aforementioned, that *Cotton End*, a small hamlet adjoining to the South Ridge of Northampton, is to be pulled down if threatened of a siege, to make the circumference of their works the less, and to secure their bridge. But I will maintain that if Nature itself, and the art of man had plotted together to place a commodious seat to serve as a bulwark, not only to the South

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Ridge but to the whole town, they could not have found out a better than that part of *Cotton End* is. For being fortified as it ought to be, it will make that side impregnable; and this end might have been fortified and secured at the first with smaller charges and a shorter line of circumference than that which they have made, by which it is exposed to the enemy's mercy; and yet their works are by it of less validity.

"And although this conceit is backed with the assent of a learned divine, yet I will judge charitably of his assent, as being in judgment so possessed, this being out of his element; yet wisdom should induce him to rely more on the judgment of an artist than upon his own, and specially when it is bent on the safest and most charitable course.

"And this counsel I give them, to fortify only the said *End*, according to the model inserted in the 23rd Plate. Now they may do it, and will be worthy of thanks if they embrace it; but if they do not, if ever they be besieged, it will produce an after-wish, as those of Leicester did, when it was too late; O that we had followed such an advice and counsel! And so much for the discharge of a good conscience."

He wrote to the Defence Committee of Northampton to the same effect.

His career was varied. In 1611, when 30 years old, he married Marie Castol, native of London, and daughter of Johan Castol, minister, deceased—doubtless the Pastor of the French Church in London who replied to the Archbishop of Canterbury when the latter by direction of Queen Elizabeth appealed to the foreign Churches in England to aid her Majesty in sending money to Henri IV of France, who was fighting on behalf of Protestantism, saying:—

"Those who are well off have already done all they can to help the King, and the poor who can bear arms have gone to join his army, leaving their wives and children to be supported by the Church; while those who remain in England, exhausted

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as they are by frequent losses, and suffering from a war so often renewed, are scarcely able to maintain a miserable existence." *

By this marriage David Papillon had one son and one daughter; the former, named Thomas, died in childhood; the latter, named Mary, married Peter Fontaine, of Caen, Normandy, and had twelve children, who were all born at either Greenwich or London, except one, Abraham, who was born at Caen. Only one son attained his majority, and he died unmarried.

This Marie Papillon, née Castol, died on 3rd May, 1614, and was buried in Blackfriars Church, London.

On the 4th July, 1615, David Papillon again married, his second wife being Annie Marie Calandrini, of a distinguished Italian family, whose grandfather, Guilliano Calandrini, with his brother Benedetto and their friends and fellow-citizens, Burlamachi, Balbani, Deodati, and others fled from Lucca between 1557 and 1567, leaving behind them large estates and high positions; but being obnoxious to the Papacy from their adoption of the Reformed faith, they willingly sacrificed all. †

They first repaired to Lyons, where Guilliano Calandrini had already set up as a merchant. From Lyons they went to Paris, but the wars of the Catholic League and the Huguenots again breaking out, they fled with Prince Condé and his army after the battle of St. Denis, and before long they were hospitably received at the Château de Montargis, by Renée, Dowager Duchess of Ferrara, a member of the royal family of France,—a true Protestant, and a very kind-hearted woman.

A truce being made, they returned to Paris, seven miles from which, the two—Calandrini and Deodati—occupied the Château de Lusarches,—but the massacre of St.

* J. S. Burn's "History of Foreign Protestant Churches;" 8vo. Longmans, 1846.
† See original Narrative at the end of the Appendix.

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Bartholomew's Day occurring, they were thankful to escape with their lives, and fled with the Duchess of Bouillon, whom they met on the road, to her husband's castle and territory of Sedan. Thence they dispersed, some to Geneva, some to Holland, and some eventually to London. Guilliano Calandrini died at Sedan; and the two last known of his family died at Geneva not many years ago, highly respected to the end.

It is worthy of note, that, at the massacre in Paris, the three children of Michael Burlamachi were protected for the time in the house of the Duke of Guise, leader of the League, and of the massacre. As regards the conversion of those who fled from Lucca, the eldest and natural son of Guilliano Calandrini, named Scipione, was brought to a knowledge of the truth by a domestic tutor, a disciple of Aonio Paleario, and was afterwards more fully instructed in it by Peter Martyr Vermiglio at Zurich, and again by Calvin, Piet, Viret, and Beza at Geneva.

Nicholas Deodati was led to embrace "the Religion" by the preaching at Lucca of Peter Martyr, while the latter was still in the Romish Church, and prior of the Monastery of St. Ferdiano; and his wife, Isabella, née Arnolfini, who afterwards became the second wife of Guilliano Calandrini, through an Augustine friar, to whom she went for confession.

Anne Marie Calandrini was a truly pious woman, and while retaining some of her native fire, she was ever kind to her dependents and anxious for the spiritual walk and welfare of her children.

David Papillon and his wife lived at various places—St. Giles, Islington, Putney (Roehampton House), Northampton, Finsbury, and at Lubenham, Leicestershire, at which latter place he acquired a small estate, and built a house of an octagonal form, and suited for defence; a description and

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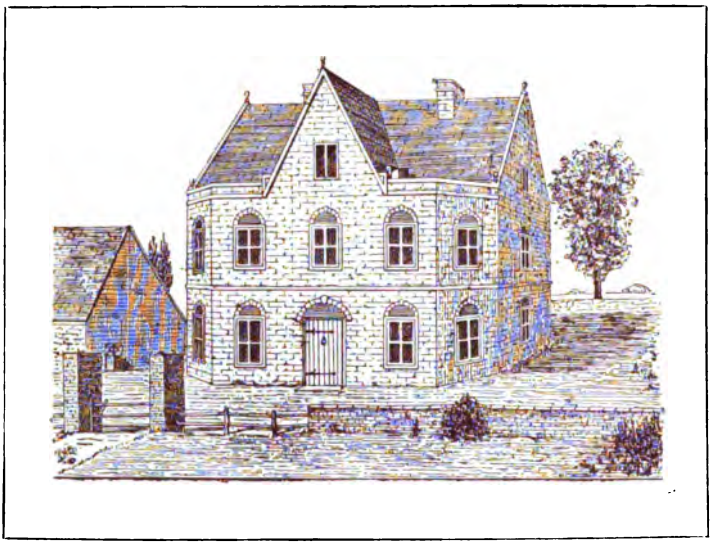

Papillon Hall.

DESCRIPTION OF PAPILLON HALL, TAKEN FROM NICHOLS' HISTORY OF LEICESTERSHIRE, VOL. II., PAGE 708; 1798; WHENCE ALSO THE ABOVE SKETCH:—

"It is very singular in its structure, and is thought to have been built with a view to defence. The shape is an octagon, and formerly it had only one entrance, and very strong work in the windows.

"The rooms were so curiously planned that each had a communication with the next, so that a person could go through them all without returning by the same door. The slated part of the roof is in the form of a cross, with leaded spaces in the intervals, whence there is a pleasant view of the neighbourhood, as the house stands on high ground. Not long ago it was surrounded by a Moat. The whole plan of the ground floor was altered by the late owner, and the windows sashed."

The House and Property are now owned by Charles W. Walker, Esq.

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sketch taken from "Nicholl's History of Leicestershire," is annexed. It is still called Papillon Hall.

In 1629, by direction of the Earl of Dorchester, Minister of State, David Papillon went to Holland in company with Philippo Burlamachi (dealer in precious stones, and brother-in-law of his wife), to redeem and sell the King's jewels; his commission of two per cent. amounted to £272.

From 1642 to 1646 he was treasurer of Leicestershire.

In 1635 he had translated into French three works of the Puritan divine, Bolton; one of them being "Comfort to the Afflicted"; and by his will, executed the same year, he bequeathed £50 for their publication, provided they should be deemed worthy of it by his brother-in-law, Cæsar Calandrini, Minister of the Flemish Church in London, and by two French ministers at Geneva. Whether they were ever sent to press, does not appear.

In 1645, as already mentioned, he published his work on "Fortification," and in 1651 that on "The Vanity of the Lives and Passions of Men," which is still extant. It evinces considerable knowledge of history—scriptural, ancient, and modern, but its style is rather abstruse.

In 1647-8 he prepared, in M.S., a work entitled, "Several Political and Military Observations." From a M.S. abstract, we find that it treated of the virtues and vices, and the various causes of failure, of different forms of Government; his views being supported by numerous cases in ancient and modern history, the tendency of his arguments favouring moderation in any existing form of Government, rather than a radical change. In Chapter I., on "Order and Obedience," he observes that

"No Government can subsist without them, either in Church, State, or Army; and from the want of them proceed all the distractions of England now prevailing, every one doing as seemeth good in his own eyes; the peasant will pay no tithe,

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the artificer gets into the pulpit, and the soldier turns law-maker. It's high time that Severus' law should be revived—that no one should meddle with another's profession."

In Chapter VI., on "Just and absolute Monarchy," he remarks that this is the best of the three simple forms—(Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy), and most like the Divine and paternal, but God is perfection itself, and the ambition of a Father and a prince differ. The best was the Roman, yet all had their failings; and a well-composed Monarchy, with the three estates of France, or the Parliament of England, is to be preferred.

In Chapter XII., on the "Monarchy of England," he remarks that it is one of the best Governments in Christendom :—

"Though some of its Sovereigns, in imitation of the French kings, would have reduced it to an absolute Monarchy, but for the courage and resolution of Parliament.

In Chapter XXXVI., which is the last, he considers that

"The settling of the worship of God should have the precedence of all other matters. All foundations except that will prove sandy."

The father of David Papillon was Thomas, Captain of the Guard and *Valet de Chambre* to Henri IV. of France, whom he tried in vain to deter from joining the Church of Rome. He died in Paris in 1608. His eldest son also named Thomas, elder brother of David, who was born in 1578, and died about 1637, was a famous jurisconsult and Avocat au Parlement de Paris. He wrote several treatises on Roman law—"*De Jure accrescendi Libellus*," "*De Directis Hæredum Substitutionibus*," and "*Commentarii*," published at Paris in 1613, 1616, and 1624 respectively.

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The father of Thomas, Captain of the Guard, was a victim of the massacre in Paris on 24th August, 1572, that memorable anniversary of St. Bartholomew's Day. It does not appear that he was attached to the Court of Henri IV.; but as the gathering of Reformers at Paris on the occasion was chiefly in honour of the King's marriage, it seems probable that he was in his suite.

His grandson, David, owned a picture representing him and other gentlemen on the occasion, attacked by men armed with swords, themselves using the chairs of the room for defence. This agrees well with the account given by Le Tigre in "*Le Tocsain contre les Auteurs du Massacre de France*," to be found in "*Les Archives Curienses*," by L. Cimber et F. Danjou: Paris, 1832-40; telling how the favourite attendants of Henri were first inveigled into his hotel, there seized by soldiers of the Royal Guard, and then led forth to slaughter.

Beyond this victim of the Massacre, the trace of lineage is defective; but family tradition carries it back to Almaque Papillon, of Dijon, with whom Philibert Papillon, in his "*Histoire des Auteurs de Bourgoyne*," Dijon, 1742, connects the famous jurisconsult, Thomas Papillon, already mentioned, whose portrait is still in the family.

Almaque Papillon was born in 1487, and died in 1559; he was an intimate friend of the poet, Clément Marot, who, with Beza, composed the metrical version of the Psalms, which was set to music by Claude Goudinel, and had much influence in promoting the Reformation in France.*

At Papillon's request, Marot sought and obtained for him the post of *Valet de Chambre* to Francis I., which he

* See Baird's "History of the Rise of the Huguenots," 2 vols., 8vo., London and New York; 1880—a work of much erudition and interest.

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himself already held; and he thus describes the course of the suit. Writing to Francis, he says:—

"Que Papillon tenoit en main la plume,
Et de tes faits faisoit un beau volume,
Quand maladie extrême lui a fait
Son œuvre exprès demeurer imparfait."

And again:—

"Et lui offrant tout ce que Dieu ha mis
En mon pouvoir pour aider mes amis,
Dont il est l'un, tant pour l'amour du style,
Et du sçavoir de sa muse gentile,
Que pour autant que sa muse en Santé
A ta louange a toujours chanté."

Then, addressing Papillon, he writes:—

"Si oncques Muse à l'autre fait plaisir,
Certès la tienne est du Roi écoutee."

And again, addressing Francis:—

"Dois je penser que ton cœur humain,
Trouve mauvais si je prête la main,
A un ami, le même que nous sommes,
Et lui et moi du nombre de tes hommes."

And elsewhere Marot wrote of Papillon:—

"Voilà les pleurs et regrets que je fais
Pour mon ami, le parfait des parfaits."

Both Marot and Papillon were with Francis at the battle of Pavia (1525), and were taken prisoners with him.

In a letter of Corneille Agrippa, dated 31st December, 1527, he says:—

"Eruditissimus Papillio salutem ad me ex tuo nomine scripsit."

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Family tradition also claims connection with Antoine Papillon, joint Almoner with Michel d'Arande to Marguerite d'Angoulême, the pious sister of Francis I., under whose protection he and others did much to promote the Reformation in Lyonnais and Dauphiné, and at whose instance her brother appointed him Mâitre de Requêtes to the Dauphin. But on the captivity of Francis, Marguerite soon lost all influence. Antoine Papillon was exiled, and not long after found dead, as was supposed from poison. At the suggestion of his friend the Dominican friar, Aimet Maigret, he had translated into French Luther's work on "Monastic Vows." * He was also a friend of Erasmus.

Antoine Papillon's position at Court seems to favour this tradition, but it is not supported by a letter from David Papillon, only son of Thomas, the famous lawyer, who speaks of the victim of the Massacre as the first of the family who embraced "the true religion."

Thomas Papillon, the subject of these Memoirs, was born at Roehampton House, Putney, on 6th September, 1623. He was the fifth child of his father's second family, and the seventh of the two families combined. As a boy, he was sent with his two elder brothers, Philip and George, to a school of good repute at Drayton, Northamptonshire; and, by his father's will, executed in 1635, £50 a year was bequeathed for the education of the three sons—£20 each for the two elder—who were designed for a University career and the ministry—and £10 for Thomas; and, on the latter being apprenticed to a merchant, for which purpose and for his general use, £500 was bequeathed, the whole £50 a year was

* "Italy and France in the Olden Time." by J. C. Colquhoun: London, 1858. A charming book.—Also, "Histoire de la France Protestante," par les frères Haag: Paris, 1860.

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to be applied to his brothers, "*and no more*, FOR THAT IS SUFFICIENT."

Philip Papillon was born on 1st January, 1620. While at school he showed much aptitude in Latin prose and verse, and several M.SS. of such remain in the family. In September, 1634, he entered Exeter College, Oxford, whence he graduated B.A. in April, 1638, and M.A. in 1640. On the latter occasion he made a gift to the College of two gilt bowls for the use of the Commoners; and in the same year he published a Tragedy, composed by a fellow-collegian, Samuel Harding. During Philip's University career, he abridged several works of Controversial Divinity; explained many texts of Scripture; and prepared about fifty sermons. He died at Lubenham in 1641, and his remains were buried in the Parish Church there.

His brother George eventually became a London merchant. He lived till 6th July, 1684. In 1653 he married Mary Nicholson, of Cambridge, and they had ten children, chiefly daughters; of whom Phœbe became the wife of Benjamin Smith, a Norwich factor; Mary, of John Ball, a Hamburg merchant; and Ann, of Thomas Hayward, ironmonger, Southwark; their only surviving son, Samuel, was married in October, 1697, to Fiducia Steer, of Wootton, Surrey, and they had two sons. The eldest, George, "born at their house in Cornhill, at the sign of the King's Head, died young." Their other son, John, died unmarried on 20th August, 1763, aged 58. He owned property at Great Bentley, Essex, as recorded in Morant's History of the County, which also states that he lived at Englefield, Berks, at which place his servant, George Cocking, was buried on 24th August, 1761, as recorded in the Parish Register.

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The remaining children of David and Anne Marie Papillon, who reached adult age, were—

1. Anne, born in London on 19th January, 1626; died 27th February, 1684. She was married in December, 1653, to William Brudenell, of Glaston, Rutlandshire, by whom she had one son, William, born at Glaston, on 19th September, 1654, who died without issue on 2nd October, 1734. She was again married in April, 1655, to Everard Fawkner, of Bulwich, Northamptonshire, by whom she had three sons—Anthony, Everard, and John—and one daughter, Elizabeth, who was married at Utrecht, where she was living with her uncle, Thomas Papillon, of London, then an exile there, to Rev. John Shower, Minister of the English Church at Rotterdam. Before and after his stay in Holland, he was a Congregational Minister in London: before, as Assistant Lecturer in Exchange Alley, and after, as co-Minister with the famous John How, D.D. His wife died in London on 24th August, 1691, leaving one daughter, Ann, her eldest child, who was eventually happily married to Mr. J. Warner.

2. Abraham, born on 6th May, 1630, at Bosworth, Leicestershire; married to Katherine Billingsley, great-granddaughter of his maternal grandfather, Jean Desmaistres. He died childless.

In 1637, at the age of 14, Thomas Papillon was apprenticed to Thomas Chambrelan (afterwards Sir Thomas Chambrelan), merchant, of London, who had married his (maternal) first cousin, Anne Marie Burlamachi, and who was probably related to his uncles, David and Abraham Chambrelan, the husbands of his aunts, Anne and Esther. In 1638, he was admitted into the Worshipful the Mercers' Company, as an apprentice, and in 1646 he became a freeman. He served his master with much devotion and intelligence.

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In 1645, he began trade on his own account, though still in apprenticeship; and in November, 1646, in order to secure his services more permanently, his master offered to take him into partnership in 1648, when he would be free to do so. This offer Papillon did not accept, but he remained with Thomas Chambrelan as agent up to 1650. Meanwhile, the latter agreed to be bound with him for £200 to his Aunt Chambrelan in a loan of £150 of the children's money; and by the joint security of Papillon's father, himself, and his brother and partner, Abraham Chambrelan, he borrowed for his use, of the Mercers' Company, the sum of £200, being a portion of £1,000 bequeathed in 1625 by Richard Fishbourne, to be lent to five young men free of the Company, by £200 each, for five years, gratis.* Singular to say, no loan has been made since 1646, probably about the time of that to Papillon.

As regards Papillon's moral condition when young, a short extract from a M.S. "Confession of Sins," written by him when in exile in 1688, at the age of 65, will throw some little light, and will show how he then regarded it. The original document is given in full in Chapter XII. He says:—

"The sins and vanities of Youth! Oh, how numberless are they, both omissions of duty and commissions of evil, mis-spending of time, ensnarements of evil company, and though God was very gracious to me to keep me that I was not carried to destruction of body and soul by those ways of sin, evil examples and seducements—for which I desire to bless His Name,—yet I have great cause to cry out with the Psalmist (Psalm xxv., 7), 'Remember not the sins of my youth nor my transgressions; according to Thy mercy remember Thou me

* "City of London Livery Companies Commission Report and Appendix," Vol. ii., p. 21, &c.

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for good, O Lord." I call to mind that once at Lubenham House my brother and I entertained young Mr. Cooper, and with wine we had sent from London, made him drunk, and we took pleasure in it. The Lord hath made me sensible of this sin, and often to reflect upon it with brokenness of heart, in that by his righteous judgment my son was made drunk by one Mr. N——— and Mr. J———. I hope the Lord has forgiven me, and my son also; and I pray the Lord to forgive them. And I write this and mention it with tears. Oh! let all and every one take warning of sin, particularly of drawing others into sin, lest the Lord in just judgment suffer it to be retaliated in kind on them or their's, and they be brought to say as I do—(Judges i., 7.)—'As I have done, so the Lord hath requited me,' 'Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and upright are Thy judgments.' We may forget our sins, but God will not forget them unless we repent, and by faith apply to God in Christ for pardon, which I desire to do for all my sins."

No doubt this self-judgment was just; but it is only just to his memory to refer also to the moral and religious conduct of himself and his friend, Michael Godfrey, while visiting France together in the autumn of 1647, which will soon appear; and again, to his high sense of filial duty and Godly confidence concerning his desired engagement for marriage in 1648.

As specimens of his early doings and sufferings, we may quote some short notes, showing how fully his heart was in business, and in the welfare of the City, while submitting all to God:—

"18 April, 1646.—In many places running goods."

"His skill and diligence led the Guinea Company to seek his aid in making up their books, and the creditors of Edward Abbott in their audit of his; and thus from first to last he won the confidence of his employers."

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"27 May, 1647.—To Oliver Cromwell for business; and am well assurred that T.C. will be as well pleased with it as if it were for himself; having always done me the honour to love and serve me in my affairs."

"21 June, 1647.—Little trade, because of some differences between Sir Tho. Fairfax's army and the Parliament." "Webberly broke."

"24 June, 1647.—Exchange high—60 to France. The City use all their efforts to reconcile Parliament and the army. Thomas Chambrelan sent with other Commissioners to treat with the army."

"29 July, 1647.—The City is put in a position of war, for fear Sir T. Fairfax's army should come and give the law to them, which they are resolved to hinder; but we hope all things will be composed peaceably."

"3rd August, 1647.—At present I do no business because of the troubles; Sir T. Fairfax's army have demanded of the Parliament to have the government of the City put into their hands, which the City opposes; and many believe that the army will come here and force it, which makes the City defend itself. Yet I hope God will send a good issue to His glory."

About this time

"His active mind would not confine itself to private affairs, especially when the London apprentices endeavoured to oblige the Parliament to restore the King. And upon this he valued himself upon the Restoration and to the last, as appears by his private letters and observations. I have seen a foul draft of the manifesto of the 'Associated Counties' (a treasonable libel then well-known) writ all in his own hand, with many obliterations and alterations to make it as now printed."

This forced him to go abroad; and he did so in August, in company with his friend and fellow-apprentice, Michael Godfrey,* who, it is probable, was involved in the same

* NOTE.—Michael Godfrey was also his cousin, Papillon being grandson, and Godfrey great-grandson of Jean Calandrini. He married Anna Maria,

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affair; for on their parting in Paris, late in October, Papillon recommended him to a friend in another part of France, stating that he had been with Mr. Chambrelan four years, and had "*come abroad in consequence of the troubles in England.*"

Michael Godfrey was a worthy companion, and had many of the qualities requisite for an upright and successful merchant, as he afterwards proved himself. Economy, attention, stedfastness, hopefulness, and courtesy. During their absence from home, they wrote frequently to Mr. Thos. Chambrelan in a joint letter, and separately to various friends in England. They shared the same room, visited and lionized together; worshipped together; kept regular hours; and carefully attended each other when ill, as they each were, for a week or more at a time—Godfrey with fever and ague, Papillon with dysentery.

They kept a joint diary, and from that are gathered the following details of their journey and stay abroad, which seem worthy of note as a picture of the time, and an index of their own character.

They left London separately; Papillon on Saturday, the 30th August, being escorted as far as Greenwich by his brother George and his friends Lawrence, Martel, and S. Vernon; and by Martel to Tunbridge, where they slept at the "Rose and Crown." On Sunday, the 31st, Martel returned to London, and Papillon proceeded to Biddenden, to the house of N. S., and slept there. On Monday, 1st

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daughter of (Sir) Thos. Chambrelan, their common master, and great-grand-daughter of J. Calandrini. Michael Godfrey was brother of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate of Westminster, who was murdered (as supposed) in 1678, soon after taking depositions from Titus Oates, *in re* "The Popish Plot." The Godfrey family had long flourished in Kent, and, according to tradition they were descended from Godfrey le Falconer, son of William Fitz-Balderic, to whom Henry II. granted the manor of Hurst, Kent. Some members of the family still reside at Lydd, Kent, and some at Woodford, Essex. See monuments in churches at both places; also at St. Swithin's Church, London, and in Westminster Abbey.

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September, in company with N. S., he went on to Westbrook*, near Lydd, where he met Godfrey; and they proceeded together to Rye, purposing to take boat to Dieppe as soon as practicable; but there being few passengers, the boatmen demanded four times the usual fare, so they resolved to wait for a reduction, and forthwith wrote to Mr. Chambrelan, and their respective friends—Papillon to his brother George and Mr. Waad, of Dover, and Godfrey to Mr. Edwd. Harrison and to Peter Godfrey, of Westbrook.

On this day occurred, at Rye, the "Beggar's Hill Fair," for the sale of the North Sea take of fish. One penny farthing per lb. was the price realized.

On the following day an order came from London to stop all passengers for France, with a view to secure Mr. Anthony Nicols, one of eleven excluded M.P.'s, and this order being shewn privately to Papillon and Godfrey, they at once engaged passage, and shipped on board the "Thomas Oak."

At one a.m. the next day, 3rd September, they were becalmed, and anchored about six leagues from Rye. They reached Dieppe Roads on the evening of Friday, the 5th, and landed on the morning of the 6th September.

On Sunday, the 7th, after successful demurs about high charges, they hired horses to take them to Rouen, and arrived there that evening. Though moderate in their habits, at the various stages, and when visiting friends, they partook of the customary "chopin of wine."

They had letters of introduction to various persons at Dieppe, Rouen, and Paris--especially at Rouen, of which place Papillon's paternal uncle by marriage, David Chambrelan, was a native; and all of these entertained and aided them, more or less, in a friendly way.

* The seat of Captain Peter Godfrey, himself a staunch Royalist.

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They took with them ten yards of cloth, to make into clothes; and in connection with the landing of this at Dieppe, they mention a custom of the place—that if any tradesman should make a good purchase of foreign goods, others of the town might share it with him.

On Saturday, the 13th September, just a week after they had landed in France, Godfrey was seized with fever and ague, and was ill for eight days.

On Sunday, the 21st September, they went by boat to Cheville near Rouen, and there attended Divine worship at the Huguenot Church, which they describe as a round building, in shape like a pigeon-house, having inside a double gallery; and being capable of holding a large congregation; and outside an enclosed court, which was strewn with sand, and contained some fine trees. They attended morning and afternoon service, dining between services with M. Budoc, à Rouen friend, whom they had met at church, and another French gentleman; and they all four returned together to Rouen in the public boat, paying half-penny each. There were many cabarets in the neighbourhood of the church, for the refreshment of worshippers both before and after service; and the more wealthy attendants kept rooms in private houses for the same purpose.

On Sunday night, and all Monday, Papillon was much indisposed; very probably from a feast of fruit which some friends had given them on Saturday evening. Notwithstanding this, having already engaged seats, he and Godfrey mounted the coach for Paris early on Tuesday, the 24th September; slept at Magny, where they were "basely lodged;" started again at three a.m. the next day; reached Paris at night, and put up at the "Croix de Fer," Rue St. Denis,—"a good large inn, but a very dear house."

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Poor Papillon became worse rather than better, and continued so for some days; and the landlord complained; so on Saturday, the 27th September, Godfrey sought for lodgings elsewhere, and engaged a room in the Rue de Bons Conseils, into which they removed early on Sunday morning.

After dinner, Papillon being anxious to enjoy some fresh air, their new landlord's son took them to the Tuilleries Gardens, which they much admired; and on Monday they started sight-seeing, beginning with Notre Dâme Cathedral, being escorted by their kind friend, M. Boyer. But on Wednesday and Thursday, the 2nd and 3rd October, both Godfrey and Papillon were again unwell.

On Sunday, the 6th October, they missed the Passage Boat for Charenton, where they had purposed attending the Huguenot Church Service; "So M. Boyer," they say in their journal, "lent us two Bibles, and we came home and stirred not out all day."

On Monday, the 7th October, after presenting a letter of recommendation to M. Gio Ludovici, who received them courteously, they visited Papillon's Aunt, Madame (Thomas) Papillon—*veuve*—in Rue St. Jean de Beauvais, by whom they were kindly received.

On the afternoon of the next day, David Papillon, son of Madame Papillon, visited them, and escorted them to the Louvre, the Tapestry Works, the Mint, and the King's Printing-house.

"On Wednesday, the 9th," says the journal, "we dined at T.P. his Aunt's, where we had extra cheer; after dinner, Mr. Papillon went with us to the Luxemborg, and on the way we went to see the College of the Sorbonne," &c. "We went to M. Boyer to sup, and came home about ten o'clock, conducted by M. Boyer and three other gentlemen: we found the streets as quiet as London."

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On Thursday, the 10th, they were escorted by David Papillon to the Faubourg St. Germain, where they visited his cousin, Madame Gerbrandt,—and to various sights, Palais Richelieu, &c.; and on Saturday the 12th he called for them in a coach, and in company with his mother and sister, his mother's sister and her daughter, and Madame Gerbrandt, they went to Rowel, about two leagues from Paris,—the handiwork of Richelieu;—the gardens were very fine, orange and lemon-trees in full bearing; and in one part, at top of a mount, "the portraiture of a city supposed to be Jerusalem, and after that a mount where is the picture of Christ upon the cross," &c. (Oh! vain shadows of our reigning Lord!)

They returned home by the Bois de Boulogne, passing the Château de Madrid, a house built by Francis I. in imitation of that where he was kept a prisoner in Spain.

On Sunday, the 13th October, they rose at five a.m., and went with M. Boyer to Divine worship at the Huguenot Church at Charenton, which they describe as a very handsome stone building, having two large galleries quite round it:—

"We went and came back by water;"—"When we came home, we passed the time in reading till supper."

Here the journal ends, as regards the copy of it in the Editor's hands; but in M.S. notes, apparently taken from Thomas Papillon's letters or memoranda, it is said,—

"On 23rd October" (which in old style, according to that of the journal, would have been the 15th October) "Wrote from Paris as follows to Mr. Thomas Chambrelan:—I will in two or three days set forward from hence, and if the news which you

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mention continues, I will make what haste I can; desiring nothing more earnestly than to be at London, to perform what I have undertaken."

On the 26th (or 18th) October he wrote to his friends L. Martel and Vernon:—

"I am obliged for your news as well as for your good advice, but I am resolved, if the news is confirmed, to return directly. I see by your's that the doctrine of John Lilbourne begins to take place in the Army, which in a little time may divide them, and break their designs:—I pray God to end all without butcheries."

He left Rouen for Dieppe and London on the 25th October; and on the 3rd November he wrote to Michael Godfrey, who was still in France, and to another friend, telling them they need no longer address his letters under false names, as he was going about publicly.

His confidence in immunity was however misplaced; for in February he was arrested and sent to Newgate; and with difficulty did he obtain release, as shewn by the following autograph certificate, given by Thomas Chambrelan in 1662.

"These are to certifie any whom it may concern y^{t} I have knowne Thomas Papillon about 25 yeares, thirteen yeares therof or therabouts he lived with me as an Apprentice and Agent, and y^{t} the said Thomas Papillon hath constantly upon all occasions manifested a Cordiall and Loyall affection to King Charles the First, and Martir, of ever blessed memory, and y^{t} for his endeavour to have restored his most sacred Majesty he was by order of the then pretended House of Commons committed to Newgate in about the month of February, 1647" (1648) "and no bayle whatever would be taken for him; but after some time wth much difficulty, after he had been once

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examined, myselfe and Mr. Pompeo Calandrini* entering into a Bond of very great somme for his appearance, he was dismissed."

"In testimony whereof I have heerunto sett my hand this 9th day of December, 1662.

"THO. CHAMBRELAN.

"Signed in the presence of us who know the contents to be true.

"CHARLES CHAMBRELAN,

"JORDAN FAIRFAX."

Before Papillon and Godfrey parted company in France they signed an agreement to enter into a partnership in trade; but differing upon some of the articles when drawn up, Papillon resigned contract, but agreed to maintain his friendship in a separate trade; both to promote each other's benefit next to his own. This was no doubt better than a settled partnership; each party being too active and independent for such a tie.

A former agreement between them may be mentioned, as shewing Godfrey's youthful hopefulness, and Papillon's confidence in him. It occurred in 1643, when Papillon had been apprentice six years, and Godfrey two-and-a-half; Godfrey for certain considerations and money in hand sealed a bond to Papillon, to give the latter or his heirs the Sword-bearer's place, or its value, and £200 besides, when he should become Lord Mayor.

Godfrey's eldest son also named Michael, became an alderman, and as Fox Bourne says, "One of the richest and most honest city men of his time."† Towards the close of his career he was specially famous as the chief mercantile promoter of William Paterson's scheme for the foundation of the Bank of England, which was finally effected in 1694.

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* Papillon's maternal uncle.

† See Fox Bourne's "English Merchants," 2 vols., 8vo., Bentley, 1866.

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Prior to that event, bankers and traders had been the only money-lenders, as well as care-takers; and their limited means often caused their own ruin and that of others, notwithstanding the very high interest which they charged on loans. Many of them naturally viewed with hostility the establishment of a National Bank, as likely to interfere with their business; but Paterson met their objections in sound and telling tracts, and Godfrey with cogent reasoning; and at last they prevailed.

The Government also opposed the scheme for some time, being unwilling to surrender their privilege of issuing State Lotteries, and of regulating the Coinage which they sometimes debased, both of which practices Paterson vigorously denounced. As regards this opposition, Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, came forward as Paterson's constant and successful champion.*

On the establishment of the Bank, Godfrey became Deputy Governor, and zealously promoted Paterson's measures for working it; for the latter was only a Director.

In the following year—1695—"Business took Godfrey to the camp of William III. in the Netherlands, and curiosity led him to be present at the siege of Namur. 'Mr. Godfrey,' said the King, when he caught sight of him among the officers of his staff, 'Mr. Godfrey, you ought not to run these hazards: you are not a soldier; you can be of no use to us here.' 'Sir,' answered the Merchant, 'I run no more hazard than your Majesty.' 'Not so,' replied the King, 'I am where it is my duty to be, and I may without presumption commit my life to God's keeping: But you ——' Godfrey never heard the sentence finished. At that instant a cannon ball struck him, and he fell dead at King William's feet.*

* See Fox Bourne's "English Merchant's," 2 vols., 8vo., Bentley, 1866.

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Nearly two years before he visited France, Thomas Papillon wrote to his cousin David in Paris, desiring to correspond with him; but it does not appear that this desire came to pass to any extent; press of business on the part of Thomas, and politico-religious troubles on that of David, may have hindered it; as also the greater age of David. And we have seen how much the acquaintance of Thomas with his Aunt and Cousins in Paris had been checked,—first by his illnesses, and then by his sudden recall to London, "where his presence was much needed in Mr. Chambrelan's counting-house." (A revived intimacy with unreformed France seems to have been providentially averted.) He was very sensible, however, of the attentions which his aunt and cousins had shewn him; and soon after he returned home he wrote to David in terms of deep regard. A few words relative to the Paris family may well find place here:—

Both David Papillon of Paris and his father Thomas Papillon were Avocats au Parlement de Paris, and Elders of the Church at Charenton; as recorded above, page 8. Thomas was famous in his profession, and published in Latin several books on Roman Law, which may be found in "*Otto's Thesaurus*" (1733), and in that of "*Gerardus Meerman*" (1751); the works themselves having been published at Paris in 1613, 1616, and 1624 respectively. He died in, or about the early part of 1637, in his fifty-eighth year. He was Scribe of the Synod of Arles in 1620. His son David never married, but lived in Paris with his mother, and his surviving sister, Marie. On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Avranches in Normandy; and after three years' incarceration he was sent to England, whence he joined his cousin Thomas Papillon in Holland, returned to London with him early

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in 1689; and remained with him till his death, which occurred on 22nd April, 1693. His remains were buried in the Church of St. Catherine Coleman, Fenchurch Street, under the passage between the chancel and the vestry.

His sister had died in Paris on the 3rd June, 1692. On her death-bed she refused to listen to the Curé, who in consequence refused to bury her; and that last office was performed by M. Trenchepain and another.

The following extracts from David Papillon's letters shew on the one hand the regard in which he held both his cousin Thomas, and his uncle David, of Lubenham; and on the other the distressed condition of French Protestants throughout his life.

On 17th August, 1652, he thus wrote to his uncle:—

[TRANSLATION.]

"HIGHLY ESTEEMED UNCLE,

"In the midst of the public miseries with which it has pleased God to visit this realm, and especially in the City of Paris, where for the last four years the usual exercise of our Religion has been ————* it has been to me an extreme consolation to learn through the letter of my cousin, your son, of the continuance of your good health; that news having reached me this morning, the day following that on which, in obedience to the Ordinance of our Church, we kept a Fast, each one in his own house.

"I have noticed in myself the compatibility of two passions very opposite to each other; viz., the joy of knowing a thing I ardently desire, and the sadness of seeing that our crimes have merited from God's justice such visitations as it pleases Him to inflict on this kingdom.

"I was equally rejoiced to hear of the satisfaction which you doubtless experience in the birth of the son which God has given to my cousin Thomas, your son. You see in that birth

* Verb omitted, probably "forbidden."

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the double posterity which the Prophet foretells for those who readily fulfil the commands of the Omnipotent; and that, coupled with the promises he makes elsewhere, that the Divine blessing will rest on the children of those that fear him, easily persuades me that God, in His goodness, has not commenced His work, to leave it incomplete; but, continuing to pour out His mercies upon father and son, will soon grant the former further offspring; and making his son to grow in all good qualities of body and mind, will cause him to bear in future days fruits worthy of the tree from which he sprang; and will moreover bestow upon him all spiritual and temporal blessings.

"I have felt considerably overcome by the honour which my cousin has been pleased to confer on my mother, my sister, and myself, in inviting us to his house during the wars of our country; and begging me personally to stand as sponsor at the baptismal vows, and to give the name to the first-fruit of his marriage,—is a proof of uncommon affection, which deserves thanks equally uncommon. Many things would induce us to undertake the journey; and among other considerations the hope of seeing you again would not be the least; I can assure you that for my part, I should see your face with greater satisfaction than the nations under the poles see that of the sun, when after a night of six months' duration, they are said to ascend to the top of the mountains, in order to perceive his first rays: but the state of mind and bodily strength of my mother will not permit her to undertake so long a journey; and my duty to her not permitting me to leave her in a time and place, which her confidence and affection towards me make her consider my presence the more necessary,—we can only regard the proposed journey as an opportunity of declaring how extremely obliged we feel to him, who so generously offers us a refuge in his house.

"As to the baptism of the child, I should have to apply to somebody to take my place, and be present at the vows, and at the blessing which is conferred by that Sacrament, if the custom of your country require more than one person in it: but seeing in the Directory which was printed a few years ago, that one single friend in the father's absence, is as good as

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ten, I will not apply, if you please, to any other than yourself: you will, therefore oblige me by doing this for yourself and me at the same time. Since I transfer the whole honour of it to you, and as God's blessing is to be implored on the child, I follow in this case the example of that Ambassador, who being unwilling on the one hand to decline a dignity, which was honourable to him—and fearing on the other that the just anger of the Prince to whom he was sent, might injure the success of the negotiation entrusted to him—caused all the steps to be taken, and all the proposals to be made by the person who had been given him as a colleague, to share with him the glory of the undertaking, which at last succeeded according to the wishes of his master.

"Moreover, I beg you will continue to favour me with your affectionate remembrance.

"I remain, highly esteemed Uncle,

"Your very humble and obedient Servant,

"PAPILLON."

"Paris, 17th August, 1652."

Another letter:—

[TRANSLATION.]

"MUCH HONOURED UNCLE,

"The letter you were so good as to send me more than six months ago, dated 17th September last, having been delivered to me only to-day, together with the splendid and valuable presents, with which my cousin George has been kind enough to honour me, I trust you will excuse the apparent neglect which such a long delay in my reply may have justly caused you to impute to me. I never receive your letters without experiencing extraordinary joy for several months, and the last always seems to be better than those preceding; but I must say, that just received has given me peculiar delight, for it contains so many wise admonitions, so much prudent advice, and so many proofs of your affection, and also tells me of the happy condition of your family circle.

"Praised be God, who has so well guided my cousins, your sons, giving them like-minded help-mates—wise and virtuous

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wives—who so well comforts the widowhood of Mademoiselle,* my cousin Fontaine, in giving her sons-in-law acceptable to her, and wealth according to the number of her children; and who in short causes your life to overflow with blessings, such as He promises to him, who—to use the expression in the Psalm, according to our metrical version—

"Doth serve his God with all his will,
And ne'er forsake His paths."

I pray Him with all the powers of my soul, that He may continue His gracious favours to you all; to you first, and then to Mademoiselle my aunt, directing my cousins Abraham and Anne according to their respective wishes, granting to Mademoiselle my aunt desirable marriages for her other children, and that He would bless my cousins' sons and daughters, who may at a future period revive the Church, and renew in themselves and their posterity the piety of their grandfather.

"Many thanks for the good advice you so kindly give me; I cannot thank you in proportion to its excellence, nor to the obligation under which it places me; I can only assure you that I will try to profit by it on every occasion that may present itself.

"I entreat you still to confer on me, now and then, the same benefit, both of your welcome counsel, and of your fervent prayers: I hold them in such esteem as ever to consider them an infallible mark of the highest blessing.

"I most humbly kiss your hands, as well as those of Mademoiselle my aunt; my mother and sister do so likewise. I beg you to favour me with your commands; and I pray God that He may be pleased to preserve you in health and prosperity; and I remain,

"Much respected Uncle,

"Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

"PAPILLON."

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* Before the Revolution, the title of "*Mademoiselle*" was retained after marriage by ladies of good birth.

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From this period we have no particular record of David Papillon of Paris till the year 1681, when he replied, as in the following extract, to his cousin Thomas Papillon of London, who evidently retained his former solicitude for him, and renewed that of his father, David Papillon of Lubenham; and it is interesting to notice the sense of duty and affection with which David of Paris regarded the mutual family ties:—

David Papillon of Paris, to his cousin Thomas Papillon of London, dated 8th February, 1681:

"Nous vous remerçions aussi des tesmoignages qu'il vous plait nous donner de votre affection singulière, particulièrement de la forte et sainte exhortation que vous nous faites de demeurer fermes en la foy et en la profession de la vraye religion. C'est une chose que nous ne pouvons espèrer de nos propres forces, mais que nous devrons demander, et devrons attendre de Celuy, en qui et par qui nous pouvons tous choses.

"Il a conservé ce precieux don en la personne de notre père Thomas et de notre aieul commun Thomas et de notre bisaieul—, sur lequel Il a primièrement fait relever la clarité de son face et de son évangile, et luy a mesme fait l'honneur d'estre du nombre de ceux qui luy présenterent leur vie et leur sang en ceste journée celèbre de l'année, 1572, marchant par ceste voie douloureuse sur les pas de son Sauveur et marquant a ses descendants par son example que "ni mort, ni vie, ni principauté, ni haulteur, ni profondeur, ni chose présente, ni chose à venir ne doit les séparer de l'affection que Dieu leur a temoignè en son Fils."

"Vous scavez cela aussi bien que moy, mais il me semble que ces examples domestiques ne doivent point estre oubliez; or comme il est important de les imiter, il est très utile de les repasser souvent en sa mémoire et en sa pensée.

"Comme je ne prends point de part dans l'administration des choses publiques, et ne m'en mesle que par les prières que Dieu me commande de faire pour la paix de l'estat et de l'église, je vous avoue que je voie bien que le dessin des ennemis

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de notre religion est de l'exterpir, ainsi que vous m'avez marquè par votre lettre; mais je n'ai assez de veux pour pénêtrer dans les évênements; je scay que la reformation de la religion est un œuvre de Dieu; peut-estre ne voudra-t il pas la detruire; sa colère n'est pas a toujours, et ses misèricordes sont éternelles. Quoiqu'il soit, nous ne pouvons mieux faire que de Luy prier les uns pour les autres, et Luy demander qu'il ait pitié de son héritage; qu'il ne l'abandonne point, et nous fait aussi la grace de l'empêcher que nous sortions de sa maison, ni de son service."

[TRANSLATION.]

"We thank you also for the proof you give us of your sincere affection, especially in your earnest and solemn appeal that we stand firm in the faith and confession of the true Religion. That we cannot hope to do in our own strength, but we ought to seek and expect it from Him in whom and by whom we can do all things.

"God maintained this precious gift in our father. Thomas, in our common grandfather Thomas, and our great grandfather on whom He first caused to shine the light of His countenance, and of His gospel, and to whom He even granted the honour to be of the number of those who laid down for Him their lives, and shed their blood on that memorable day of the year 1572—treading that thorny path in the steps of his Saviour, and thus testifying to his descendants that neither death nor life, nor principalities, nor height, nor depth, nor things present, nor things to come, should separate them from the love that God hath shewn them in His Son.

"You know all this as well as myself, but it seems to me that these family examples should not be forgotten; for since it is important to imitate them, it is expedient to recal them frequently to our mind and thoughts.

"While I take no part in the administration of public affairs, and enter into them only in the prayers which God commands me to offer for the peace of the State and of the Church, I confess to you I see clearly that the design of the enemies of our Religion is to extirpate it, as you say in your letter; but I have not sufficient foresight to dive into the future: I know

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that the Reformation is a work of God; perhaps He willeth not its destruction; His anger endureth not for ever, and His compassions are eternal. However it may be, we cannot do better than pray to Him for one another, and beseech Him to have pity on His heritage, to abandon it not; and that He will give to each of us grace to be faithful in His worship and service."

To us, survivors of the English branch of the family these are the last recorded words of the last member of the French branch. May we receive them with the thankfulness they merit; and in the various temptations and trials we may severally encounter, may we find grace to follow the godly counsel they contain.

NOTE.—With reference to the slight information given in page 2 relative to Peter Papillon, younger paternal uncle of Thomas Papillon,—it is worthy of mention that in 1670 a namesake resided at Boston, United States, who was ancestor of a family of good position now in New England named Pumpelly, to a member of which the author is indebted for the fact. The corruption of the name began (in England) in early days, being found in the Harleian M.SS. as "Pampelion" and "Pompelion."

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CHAPTER II.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY.

Jane Broadnax—Courtship difficulties—Letter from Papillon to his Parents—is willing to abide the will of God, and their consent—Letters from the Mother of Jane Broadnax to Papillon's parents, discouraging the match, but expressing great regard for the suitor—Replies of Papillon's father—Marriage—Mutual affection and regard—Character of Jane Papillon, as drawn by Rev. John Shower in his dedication of her Funeral Sermon—Children.

WE have seen Thomas Papillon's steadiness and industry as an Apprentice, his ardour as a Merchant, his faithfulness as an Agent, and his zeal for Royalty; and though the last brought pains and penalties, he lived to see the triumph of the cause he had espoused. Let us now glance at him as a Lover—with strong affections under due control. "Faint heart ne'er won fair lady," and he faltered not. A M.S. note among the family papers thus records the course of events:—

"When he found by his settlement in trade that his small stock was likely to improve regularly, he fixed his thoughts on his cousin Jane Broadnax for a wife; which on the first application she approved, though ————; this was in 1648 ————; it was renewed; difficulties often arose on one side or the other; yet his constancy and discretion at last prevailed, for his soul was truly in it."

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The following* was the mutual relationship of the lovers as cousins; and we will include that of Papillon's friend and colleague, Michael Godfrey, of whom we wrote in the last chapter. We may here mention that Jane Broadnax's father was of a county family of two hundred years standing, and owners of the fine domain of Godmersham, Kent, between Ashford and Canterbury; this may account for his opposition to the proposed match; while that of Papillon's parents may have arisen from surprise and faithless fears. On their part, however, all misgivings soon vanished, and they warmly espoused their son's cause, as the following letters will shew.

Solomon said by the Spirit, "Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour of the Lord," (Proverbs xviii., 22); and again, "Houses and riches are the inheritance of fathers, and a prudent wife is from the Lord," (xix., 14); and Amos (iii., 3) on a still more important subject, "How can two walk together except they be agreed?" But in this case the lovers were truly "agreed," especially in religion; Jane Broadnax was indeed "a prudent wife;" and their whole married life showed that their union was owned and blessed of God, notwithstanding mutual trials and bereavements.†

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* See page 47.

† As regards the property at Godmersham, Kent, an anecdote is told, viz.:—That Thomas Knight, the last direct descendant of the male line of the Broadnax family, being engaged to act as sponsor at the baptism of William Papillon, the great-great-grandson of Jane Papillon (*née* Broadnax), proposed to his father to give him the name of Knight, and probably the charge of him in youth, but William Papillon's father declined. And Thomas Knight, finding himself childless, adopted Edward Austen, the great-great-grandson of his own great-great-uncle, John Austin, and bequeathed to him his estates.

William Papillon however was not without means, and was truly rich in good works. At the age of 27 he married, but early became a widower, without children. He was for many years Rector of Wymondham, Norfolk, which he endowed with a Sunday Evening Lectureship; and he bequeathed money to endow local almshouses. He died in 1836, aged 75.

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Letter from Thomas Papillon to his parents, written in 1648:—

"I have received two letters, one from either of you; my duty and respect to you, which I shall continue, whatever your thoughts are, forbid me to make other replication than only for your satisfaction to acquaint you with my resolution thereupon,—which is that since you apprehend and absolutely conclude, as in my mother's letter, that the settling of this land upon me (without which no possibility of the marriage in hand) is to take the bread out of the mouth of my aged parents, to wring the flesh from my father's arm, and to bring my mother with sorrow to the grave (expressions of that nature that I tremble at the rehearsal)—I shall forbear any further prosecution till such time as it shall please the Lord either to manifest to you the contrary of what you seem now to apprehend,—or by some other way to open a way for the accomplishment thereof; and that you may with joy and rejoicing lend your assistance for perfecting the same, as being by me, and formerly as I conceive by yourselves, looked upon as one of the greatest blessings your son in this world could expect,—a virtuous wife being in the wise man's apprehension a jewel of great price.

"In the meantime I shall choose rather to bear God's afflicting rod, than to be that rod for the affliction of my mother. The Lord enable me with a patient, submissive, spirit to undergo what He is pleased to lay upon me,—to resign up myself wholly to His will, and to draw me nearer and nearer to Himself by all His dispensations towards me; while I shall not desist constantly to pray for your health and prosperity, and in and on all occasions to approve myself," &c., &c.

We now pass to the objections of the lady's parents, and to the trite rejoinder they met from Thomas Papillon's father.

Letter from Jane Broadnax, mother of the bride elect, to the mother of Thomas Papillon:—

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"My dear Cousin,

"I received thy kind letter with much Christian advice; truly I hope it may be advantageous to me; especially if, as I believe, you do second it with your prayers.

"Since my coming home I have not been well, but I bless God am now in a likely way of recovery; the Lord make me walk suitable to mercies, that I may give Him the glory of all.

"I wish my habitation were not so remote from you, for I confess you have been an instrument of much good to me, and indeed you may believe me it afflicts my spirit that you should desire any thing of me that I should not condescend to you in. But truly, cousin, I know no city match that at present we could comply withal; and therefore I pray you to entreat your son to draw off his thoughts from us—seeing, as far as I can discern, there is no probability of it; for although without such intentions as I conceive he hath of prosecuting the design of further manifesting his affections to my daughter, there is no kinsman in the world that would be more welcome unto me, yet I apprehend in this case it would be a further injury to him if I should allow him the opportunity he desires.

"I propose, God willing, to go to Ightham before I go to Canterbury, and then according to your husband's will I shall acquaint my mother with what he desired. In the meantime I pray present my dear affections to your husband and son, and believe that I am,

"Your truly affectionate Cousin,

"Jane Broadnax."

The same to the same:—

"26th March, 1650.

"Dear Cousin,

"I received your last and former letter, and according to your desire have acquainted my husband therewith, but can find in him no inclination to give way thereunto, and intreat it may be no prejudice to my cousin's preferment in marriage to any other.

"We desire to return you many thanks for your love expressed in your motion, as also for your good advice in warning us of

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the dangers we may run into, by reason of ambition. Truly, I confess we desire to bestow her as well as we can, and account nothing worth the having unless the fear of God be joined with it. If ambition had only been her aim, we could, I think, ere this have bestowed her to great advance; but truly we apprehend the danger both of city and country matches at present to be so great, that I think we are the most like not to haste the bestowing of her, but rather wait till we may be enabled more clearly to discern what may be more safe than we can in these uncertain days.

"Dear Cousin, it is very pleasing to me that you say this occasion shall in no way hinder our ancient love and respects to each other; and I beseech you believe it is neither for want of a due esteem of my Cousin's worth, nor of your family, that we proceed not in this matter; for I really profess you are all more than ordinarily accounted of by us, and so I hope shall ever be, and with our affectionate respects, shall endeavour to approve ourselves, dear Cousin,

"Yours in all endeared affection,

"JANE BROADNAX."

"Canterbury, 1650, March the 26th."

From Jane Broadnax as above to David, father of Thomas Papillon:—

"DEAR COUSIN,

"I desire not to come short in such endeared affections as I confess to have received long and ample testimony of both from yourself and dear wife; amongst which I must confess this last not to be the least, although I know not how to requite according to merit; for believe me there is that esteem in my heart of you and yours that I know not any of my relations to whom my heart does so freely enlarge itself, and particularly to that branch in whom I believe much desert, although I cannot find how to accomplish my loving desires; my husband apprehending the city to be in a very tottering condition at present, and trading more hazardous than ever, I must confess does rather desire to dispose of his daughter into the country;

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but that her affections are no otherwise fixed, that I hope and believe not, she ever having had more privilege in the particular of manifesting her desires than is ordinarily given to daughters.

"Truly, Cousin, I must confess we all esteem ourselves obliged to you in this motion, and without dissimulation have a better and more worthy esteem of my Cousin than of any man in his condition, yet cannot resolve to proceed according to your desire, but shall heartily wish, if God guide you to another choice, it may be a blessing to your family, and joy of heart unto you all. Farther, dear Cousin, let me beg this favour, that this, according to the ordinary custom of the world, may not beget any strangeness or alienation in our true love and respects to each other; for truly it is an addition and new bond to tie me more fast unto you all, and shall be an engagement to my spirit for my performance of whatever at any time shall be in my power.

"I shall conclude with this request and my endeared affections unto you all, and remain for ever,

"Your most respective Cousin to serve you,

"JANE BROADNAX."

"My husband together with us presents
his due respects to you and yours."

From David Papillon to Jane Broadnax, in reply:—

"DEAR COUSIN,

"The disparity between parties in their circumstances, viz., in their inclination, in their descent, in their age, in their religion, in their means, in their gifts of nature and of mind, doth ever cause such marriages to be fatal to the parents, and destructive to the children: contrarily, the parity between parties in the like circumstances doth ever cause the marriages to be comfortable to the parents and prosperous to the children.

"I wonder that my Cousin major should seek after these rocks of disparity, and shun the streams of parity.

"There is such parity between my cousin and the bearer hereof in all these fore-cited circumstances, that two parallel lines in geometry are not more like one another; and yet he refuseth his assent upon these weak arguments—imitating, it seems, the common proverb, 'A bad excuse is better than none at all.'

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"Excuse me, dear Cousin, the laws of true friendship will not permit me to let that argument pass without reply, out of fear that my silent approbation of them might be prejudicial to the future comfort you expect to receive of the marriage of my cousin Jane.

"His arguments contained in your answer to my letter were these: 1st—That the miseries of these times; 2nd—The apprehensions of the decay of trade; 3rd—The fears of the ruin of the city; 4th—The advantage of single life in these days, addicted to mutations and changes—made him conceive it more wisdom to marry his daughter to a great landed man than to a merchant.

"I answer,—That the miseries of the times should not move a prudent gentleman, as he is, to resolve upon anything that is not grounded upon reason. For the 2nd—Trade must be supported by the State, or the State cannot subsist: for trade is the pillar of a State; and no trade, no vent of commodities—How will the great landed men receive their rents? They will certainly fall into greater streights than the merchants. For industrious merchants can live gallantly in all parts of Christendom; so cannot great landed men if they are deprived of their rents. For the 3rd—The fears of the ruin of the city are mere chimeras; for the ruin of the city will draw after it the desolation of the whole nation: neither can the Parliament, nor the Army subsist after the destruction of it; and can there be any probability that they will ruin that which supports them? But it may be objected, That foreigners will come in, and destroy it. If it comes to that, what will become of the great landed men? Certainly they will be in the like case; as the great landed men are the King's party at present—viz.—most miserable. 4th—As for the advantages of a single life in the days of affliction, it is mere paradox, and a popular error—for Solomon saith—'Woe to him that is alone, because he hath none to comfort him;' and the histories are full of instances of the comforts that men may receive in the days of affliction of their wives, and women of their loving husbands. And as for the result of his arguments, I deny the consequences: for the condition of the man that hath some land and some industry,

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is far safer than the condition of a great landed man who hath no industry. Peter de Medicis, Duke of Florence, was expelled from his dukedom by mutation of State; and had been enforced to beg his bread, if he had not in his youth been brought up in the trade of merchandize; but by his industry he maintained himself and his family very gaily during his abode at Venice.

"I acquaint you of these things, dear Cousin, that you may endeavour to clear my Cousin major of these conceits; and that aiming to promote his daughter over highly he may not make her for ever miserable." *

Either this letter or a condensed copy of it, which is extant, David Papillon sent to Mrs. Broadnax by the hand of his son Thomas; the following shews the light in which the latter regarded his errand:—

"MOST RESPECTED FATHER,

"You might very well suppose me indiscreet, if I should neglect to follow your direction in a business which I have undertaken at your request, and in obedience to your commands; and therefore I have chosen to be wholly guided by you in the managing thereof, being desirous to perform my duty in relation to yourself, as being the greatest obligation I have in the world; and if things succeed not according to expectations, it shall sufficiently satisfy me that thereby I have manifested my obedience to your commands, and my willingness in all things to comply with your desires—though possibly in some things contrary to my own judgment—which, as I have hitherto done, I shall always submit to yours. Upon which consideration, on my late being in the country, I delivered your letter, with the part of your book upon the Passions, into my cousin Broadnax the Elder her own hands; your letter now sent me shall be sent on Monday according to your desire; the issue I leave to the heavenly Providence.

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* NOTE.—In furtherance, however, of the marriage, David Papillon adduced something more tangible than arguments, viz., the settlement on the happy couple of eighty-four acres of meadow land of his estate at Lubenham, subject to a charge on behalf of his two younger children, equal in amount to two-thirds of the bride's marriage portion: such was the marriage settlement.

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"As to your desire that my brother and myself should go down at Easter, I shall entreat you not to lay an injunction upon us, the rather because I calculate it will be impossible for me to do it at that time without prejudice to myself, which I know you do not desire; but I assure you it shall be as soon as our affairs will permit, &c., &c.

"I remain, your dutiful Son,

"THO. PAPILLON."

"His most respected father,
"Mr. David Papillon, these, &c.,
at Lubenham."

Patience and perseverance, duly pursued, at last met their sure reward; and the marriage of the happy couple was celebrated "*in the great Church in Canterbury*," on Thursday, the 30th October, 1651.

Their mutual affection and regard through life is testified by their letters, extracts of which will appear in various parts of these Memoirs, and by the letters in the Appendix. Meanwhile we may quote the following letter written by Jane Papillon to her husband in 1667, soon after he had gone to Breda, in Holland, as one of a Deputation from the East India Company, to watch the progress of a Treaty of Peace between Holland and England, in which the Company was interested. It was written from Thomas Papillon's house in Fenchurch Street, London:—

"May 3rd, 1667.

"MY DEAREST,

"With whom I can truly say I have lived in personal distance; I must say I have found it no easy thing complacently to submit to the will of God in this separating providence. Many repining and perplexing fears have slept and waked with me, but God has concluded them in enlarging my heart and mouth in desires of blessings on thee, and in belief that He has qualified thee for the receiving of them. Our God has enlarged me in desires

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and prayers that the fulness of His blessing and spirit might accompany thee, and that in thy voyage and affairs He would make thee sensible of the advantage of His presence, that He would make thee upright before Him, and be thy Buckler, that thou mayst never decline from the words of His mouth, that our God will increase every grace in thee, and ability to service—and yet keep thee humble, and not suffer thee to lean to thine own understanding; that in the affair thou art gone about, the preparation of thy heart and the words of thy mouth may both be from the Lord; that when thou goest thy steps may not be straitened, and when thou runnest thou mayest not stumble, but that thou mayest walk at liberty and without offence; and that however any may incline to hard thoughts of thee, and be unsatisfied with the produce of this Treaty—yet God may vindicate thy uprightness, even before men, and that I nor nothing in me may impede thy blessing—for I have been and am sensible that in justice these blessings, which with my soul I have desired for thee, might for my sake be denied unto thee; but that God, that has ever made it my request that I might do thee good all the days of thy life, and not evil—will, I trust, say that thou shalt never suffer on account of my foolishness.

"This morning I endeavoured to meet thee at the throne of grace, persuading myself that ere this time thou hadst refreshed thyself after thy weary voyage, and it was to me as if the Lord had said, Thou art a son that dost desire: yea, thou hast and wilt receive His words, and hide His commandments with thee, thou hast inclined thine ear to wisdom and applied thy heart to understanding, thou seekest for wisdom as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasure; and thou hast and shalt understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of the Most High; and thou shalt understand righteousness and judgment and equity: yea, and every good path; the Lord hath laid up sound wisdom for thee, and will be a Buckler to thee: nay, my God hath given thee wisdom, and He will keep thee in the way of judgment and preserve thy way; wisdom hath entered into thy heart, and knowledge has been pleasant to thy soul, and discretion shall preserve thee, and understanding shall keep thee.

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"Now what remains but that I should live praise to this God of love and bounty, to whom I have committed thee as unto a faithful Creator? And oh, that I and all within me, yea, and all without me, may give glory to God! Oh, beg wisdom for me, and faithfulness for the discharge of every duty God hath appointed me unto: I have too, too long been as a fool entrusted with a prize, and not known how to use it; now help me with your prayers, that I may know my work and duty in its season, and improve present opportunities and advantages for service.

"Thy son and daughter Betty are both my bedfellows. My soul desires to be instrumental for good to them according to their capacities; and oh that our God that has given them to us would make me instrumental in prevailing with Him, that He would own them from their tender years, and so render them blessings to thee and me. It grieves me that I have not as much ability as desire to approve myself to thy interest; but this I can say is the language of my heart, What I know not, Lord teach me; and what I am not, Lord make me—for the advancement of the honour of thy great Name, and the comfort of him that of men thou hast made dearest unto me.

"Anne Marie went to nurse last Saturday; the rest are in health, and intreat me to desire your blessing for them, although they cannot come daily to ask it of you.

"Our dear mother ventured out it being sacrament day, and I hope is not the worse for it. I need not tell thee thou art dear to her. 'Praise to God for the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee suck.'

"Mr. Church hath hitherto constantly afforded us his company, and Mr. Harrison sometimes; Mr. Mokett also this morning offered himself to join with us in prayer for thee. Blessed be God for thy interest in the prayers of the faithful; and let them prosper that love thee.

"Our relations in Kent, and particularly our dear mother, are much in desire of blessing for thee; and it is the joy of my heart that any in relation to me have that spiritual skill whereby they may contribute to thy good.

"Our brother Papillon is the only person that has given us

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a visit on the account of my solitariness—unless I may say brother Turner. I hear my brother Broadnax intends a visit this week; but I fear my mother is not well enough to accompany him.

"Mr. Harrison assures me he has given thee a full account of all thy affairs, which I would have been witness to, could the post have stayed my reading of it. I hope business is not neglected; they seem very diligent; the rest are as you left them.

"My conclusion must not be without some blame to myself for too long detaining thee, either from your improvement of better company, or the entertainment of thy own thoughts, which I am sure always suggest something of more worth than is subject to the expression of her, whose blessing it is in the strictest tie of affection to be thine,"

"JANE PAPILLON."

This worthy lady lived to the age of seventy-two, retaining her health and faculties nearly up to the time of her death. On that occasion, in July, 1698, her husband requested the Rev. John Shower, Independent Minister in London, who, as above-mentioned, had married his niece, Elizabeth Fawkner—to preach a Funeral Sermon; and the following dedication shews the high esteem in which he held the memory of the departed:—

"TO THE MUCH HONOURED THOMAS PAPILLON, ESQ., &c.

"The following sermon was preached, and is now published, at your desire; your near relation to the extraordinary person deceased, and that which I have the honour to bear to you, doth manifestly determine my choice to whom to address it.

"You will not expect, sir, in this epistle, that I should give the world an account of your eminent qualities, after the manner of modern dedications; the aversion I ought to have for flattery, and that which you have for any thing that looks like being flattered, besides the censoriousness of this nice age (which will not hear the praises of those who very well deserve them) make

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this point so tender to be touched, that I dare not adventure to draw your character. However, if your children and grandchildren, following the worthy example of their parents, in great part are, and the rest like to be, excellent examples unto others—that, sir, is a living panegyric upon you, which you cannot escape.

"Upon the like reason I have said so very little of the deceased, your positive prohibition not suffering me to do her that justice which the audience expected. I should otherwise have mentioned her exemplary piety and devotion, the great moderation of her principles and temper; her concern at heart for the division among Protestants; her strict observance of the Lord's day in public and family worship; her extraordinary care to take a frequent account of the state of her soul, and of her progress towards perfection; her love to all good men, of whatsoever denomination; her prudent administrations at home, and her diffusive charity abroad (a charity not confined to a party, but measured only by the merit and necessity of the object.)

"And to her honour I should have taken notice of the wise and successful education of her children, and the regard she had to the regular behaviour of her servants, on whom she endeavoured to leave some lasting impressions of religion.

"In short, I should have declared that she discharged the duties of every relation as a wife, mother, mistress, neighbour, &c., in the manner as perhaps there have been few such examples of piety and prudence in our age.

"In not doing this I observed your order, which I ought to mention as a just excuse for that defect in my sermon.

"Dear Sir, may all the blessings of a holy and honourable old age, which I have named, be long yours!

"May it please God to satisfy you with long life, and afterwards shew you His salvation!

"This is the hearty prayer of, Sir,

"Your affectionate obliged Nephew and humble Servant,

"JOHN SHOWER."

"London, November 3rd, 1698."

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The children of this marriage were :—

DAVID, born 29th July, 1652; died 6th August, 1652; buried in Parish Church of St., Katherine Coleman, Fenchurch Street.

THOMAS, born 25th October, 1653; died 22nd August, 1654; buried in the Church of St. Katherine Coleman.

JANE, born 12th December, 1654; died 16th September, 1657; buried in the Church of St. Katherine Coleman.

ANNE, born 23rd January, 1656; died at Canterbury on 5th May, 1659; buried in the Cathedral.

ELIZABETH, born 27th July, 1658; married on 30th March, 1676, to EDWARD WARD, Barrister of the Inner Temple, and afterwards Attorney General and L. C. Baron of the Exchequer: JANE, their first child, married THOMAS HUNT, of Boreatton, Salop; and thence the family of WARD-HUNT.

PHILIP, born 26th November, 1660; married 10th September, 1689, to ANNE, daughter of William Jolliffe, Esq., of Caverswall Castle, Staffordshire: hence the Papillon family of Kent, Essex, and Sussex.

SARAH, born 10th February, 1664; married 14th August, 1683, to SAMUEL RAWSTON, Esq., of Bucklersbury, who died at Lexden, near Colchester (where he had purchased a property), on 17th February, 1720.

ANNE MARIE, born 13th November, 1665; married, 27th August, 1689, to WILLIAM TURNER, Esq., Barrister of Gray's Inn: their son WILLIAM married ELIZABETH, co-heiress of THOMAS SCOTT, Esq., of Longage, parish of Lyminge, Kent, who was descended from the house of ROBERT BRUCE. Their grand-daughter, BRIDGET TURNER married DAVID PAPILLON, grandson of Philip the brother of Anne Marie.

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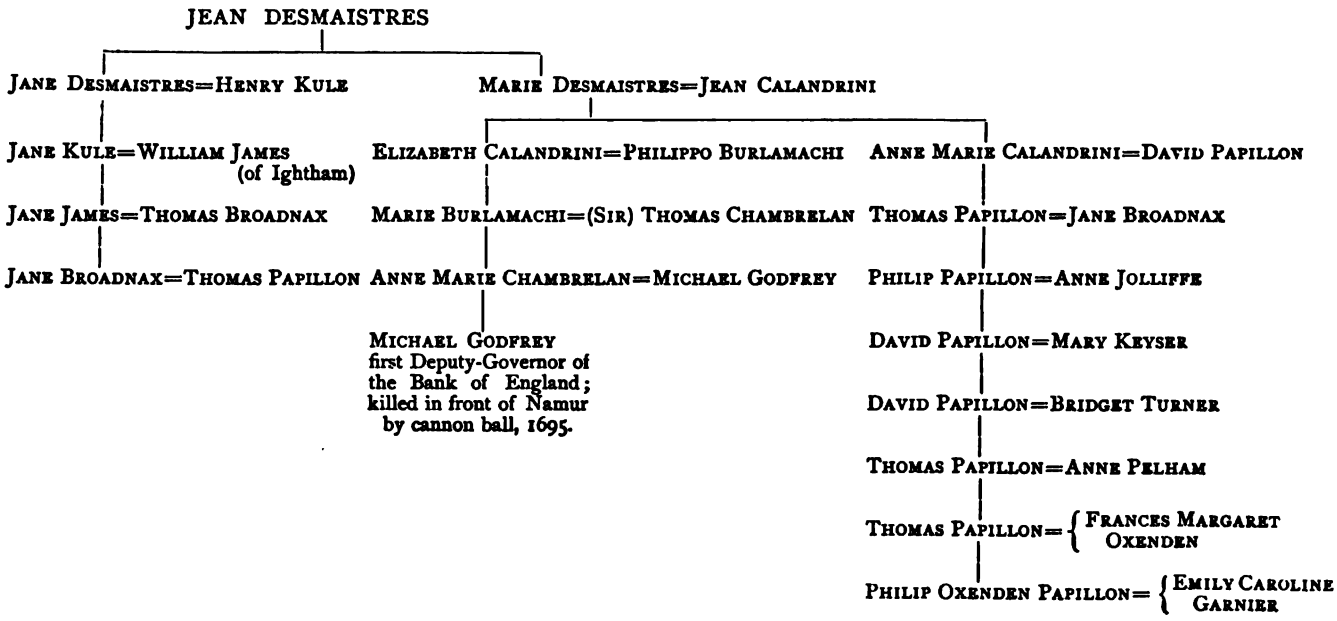
RELATIONSHIP OF PAPILLON, HIS WIFE, AND MICHAEL GODFREY.


JEAN DESMAISTRES
JANE DESMAISTRES=HENRY KULE
MARIE DESMAISTRES=JEAN CALANDRINI
JANE KULE=WILLIAM JAMES (of Ightham)
ELIZABETH CALANDRINI=PHILIPPO BURLAMACHI
ANNE MARIE CALANDRINI=DAVID PAPILLON
JANE JAMES=THOMAS BROADNAX
MARIE BURLAMACHI=(SIR) THOMAS CHAMBRELAN
THOMAS PAPILLON=JANE BROADNAX
JANE BROADNAX=THOMAS PAPILLON
ANNE MARIE CHAMBRELAN=MICHAEL GODFREY
PHILIP PAPILLON=ANNE JOLLIFFE
MICHAEL GODFREY first Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England; killed in front of Namur by cannon ball, 1695.
DAVID PAPILLON=MARY KEYSER
DAVID PAPILLON=BRIDGET TURNER
THOMAS PAPILLON=ANNE PELHAM
THOMAS PAPILLON= { FRANCES MARGARET OXENDEN
PHILIP OXENDEN PAPILLON= { EMILY CAROLINE GARNIER

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CHAPTER III.

DISPUTES IN THE FRENCH CHURCH IN LONDON.

M. Stoupe complains of M. Delmé—the Consistory admonish the latter—and he replies offensively—the Consistory reprove him—he appeals to Cromwell to summon a Collogue—Cromwell does so, and further appoints a Committee to consider the matter—the Collogue remonstrate against this invasion of their rights—Thomas Papillon and John Dubois deputed by the Church to assert them—A Committee of Ministers appointed by the Seven French Churches in England—and a satisfactory Settlement effected.

The case of Mr. James Fell, educated at Dieppe, and elected to a Curé of the Church in London.

N 1657 we find Thomas Papillon engaged with his friend John Dubois on behalf of the French Church in London, of which they were Deacons, in claiming from the Government their legal and prescriptive right of self-government by consistory, cœtus, collogue, and synod.

The matter arose thus:—In December, 1654, a complaint was made to the Consistory by M. Stoupe, one of the Pastors, that another Pastor, M. Delmé, had inveighed from the pulpit against his preaching, as being too legal. The Consistory admonished M. Delmé, and on his replying in offensive language, they adjudged him guilty of a breach of discipline, but still only desired a promise from the two parties that they would refrain from mutual recrimination, and from publishing the proceeds of the Consistory. To this M. Delmé partially assented, but maintained his right

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to oppose "all manner of errors and vices without respect of persons," and defended his past conduct "in opposing Holy days." He also complained of another Pastor for having written against him to the Church at Norwich.

The Consistory then ordered all the three Pastors mutually to ask pardon; and on M. Delmé refusing, they adjudged him guilty of rebellion against Ecclesiastical Order, and suspended him. They also called a Cœtus or Assembly of the Ministers and Elders of the French and Dutch Churches in London, to confirm or modify their sentence; and M. Delmé consented to submit to the decision, "if according to God and reason."

The decision of the Cœtus was very moderate and conciliatory; still, M. Delmé would not agree to it, but with various fathers of families, who took his part, he appealed to the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, to summon a Collogue or Assembly of the Ministers and Elders of the several French Churches in England, viz., those at London, Canterbury, Southampton, Norwich, Dover, Santoff in the Isle of Axholme, and Torre Abbey.

On the partial assembly of the Collogue, and on objections being made by some of the members who presented themselves, M. Delmé and his friends again appealed to the Protector, requesting that the proceedings might be submitted to a body of English Divines—a proposal already made by the Protector, but rejected by the Collogue.

The Protector, however, carried his point, and appointed a Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of Lord Strickland, Lord Mulgrave, General Desborow, Major-Gen. Skippon, to receive the Report of the Divines, and to treat with the parties at issue.

At this stage, the French Church in London deputed Thomas Papillon and John Dubois to remonstrate with

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the Committee against the infringement of the State on their right of Self-Government by the Church according as by Law and Custom established. Whether this proceeding had immediate effect does not appear; for either before or after its occurrence, both parties pleaded several times before the Committee; but at last, by means of the Dutch Ministers, and of a Mr. David Stuart, a Minister from the Low Countries, a project was accepted and signed by both parties, in pursuance of which Pastors of all the seven French Churches in England, together with four assistants, viz., Cæsar Calandrini and Theodore Diodati on the part of the Consistory of London, and Mr. David Stuart and M. Muoy on the part of M. Delmé and his adherents, met in Collogue and decided—"that there have been great breaches of charity, which have occasioned irregularities and factions that threaten the Church: they order therefore that they humble themselves before God, ask mutual pardon, embrace each other, and efface all books and memorials relating to the case. That M. Delmé should confess himself by his words or actions to have offended the Consistory, so that the latter should think he was too much attached to his own sentiments; and then be restored. The adherents who were suspended, to ask pardon and be restored."

All acquiesced in this arrangement except four, whose names have not appeared in the above narration.

Letter from Thomas Papillon and John Dubois to the Committee of the Privy Council:—

"RIGHT HONOURABLES,

"We, with several others, have been divers times to wait upon your Honour, being thereto deputed by the French Congregation of London, to give your Honour information of the state of our

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matters, and that we are, as we always have been, ready in a disciplinary way (notwithstanding the indication of our proceedings in the Cœtus and Collogue) to allow M. Delmé the liberty of an appeal to a Synod, for the determination of all differences, that being, according to our discipline, the only proper and supreme judge now left.

"It was before the Right Honourable the Committee appointed to hear this business on our parts demonstrated at the last hearing, before your Honour came in, that we had not been heard by the Rev. the English Divines as to the matters in difference, but only to the point of the Collogue, and that only by papers, being never called before them (as we expected) to know wherein they were unsatisfied, and that the allegations before them as to matters of fact being without proof, were no more than 'yea and nay.' Being charged by the other party with having protested against his Highness's authority, we declared that we did own his Highness as Supreme Magistrate in this Nation, and as such should always submit to his commands, actively or passively, but that the matters in question were touching suspension and excommunication, the judgment whereof by unquestionable right from Jesus Christ belongeth to the Church, to be exercised within, and not by any extrinsical power.

"That besides that right, we had legal right, by Patent, by long practice, and by Law; and that for above one hundred years never any King or Magistrate in this Nation have taken upon them to judge our Ecclesiastical matters, but have always left us to our own government—all which was then insisted upon, but now too tedious to trouble your Honour withal.

"Upon your Honour coming, they finding the former charge invalid, and not to stick, object that we did consent to refer the matters in question to his Highness, or such as he had appointed—which, how inconsistent it is with their former charge, several times repeated against his Highness's authority—is obvious to any common capacity.

"By the paper enclosed, being a narrative of the transactions before his Highness (the truth whereof the other gentlemen will acknowledge) your Honour will perceive that we neither did nor

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could consent to refer any thing out of a disciplinary way, unto which we are strictly bound.

"If before that time by any private person any thing was said touching to any other effect, the Consistory cannot be therein concerned, as being contrary to their Order, and not in their power; and having since (before any thing done) declared the contrary.

"Enclosed your Honour will find a Certificate of the nature and constitution of the Cœtus, and of their proceedings touching these differences, by which your Honour will see who indeed are those who do endeavour peace, and who they are that obstruct it: also a copy of an Order of Parliament of the 21st January, 1642, establishing the privileges of our Churches; and also a copy of an Order for the Committee for Plundered Ministers, of the 27th August, anno 1647, leaving the determination of a business of a very like nature, touching the Suspension of a Minister, to a Synod, as the proper judge thereof: and the Parliament, who understood the rights of our Churches, and the evil consequences that might ensue to Protestants in foreign parts, under Popish Magistrates, if those rights of exercising our discipline amongst ourselves were taken from us—did make it a charge of High Treason against the Archbishop of Canterbury for endeavouring to deprive us of the same, as in the 7th Article of his Impeachment is laid down.

"All which we humbly pray your Honour to take into your serious consideration; and that it is not any private or particular quarrel that we have against any person or persons, but the upholding of that Church which from Christ is derived to us; and the maintenance of those rights which, by the favour of his Highness's predecessors, and laws of this land, have been hitherto enjoyed by our Churches.

"That some of the Dissenters are good men (as we hope) argues not that their matters are right, or that they do well in rejecting the judgment of the Cœtus, Collogue, and Synod, the proper Ecclesiastical jurisdiction according to our discipline and practice for many years, as aforesaid: the best men are subject to failings, whereof (with sorrow we may say it) we could give sufficient demonstration, if to recriminate were to the question,

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or would tend to that end which we aim at, viz.: Union in our Churches in the continuance of our ancient liberties for deciding of all Ecclesiastical matters among ourselves by Consistory, Cœtus, Collogue, and Synod, and doubt not but the Right Honourable Committee and your Honour in particular, (whose public negotiations abroad have given your Honour the knowledge of the government of the Protestant Churches in foreign parts, to which ours is conformable), will take such care that the same may be continued to us as heretofore.

"We did intend to have delivered this (with some enlargements) verbally to your honour; but wanting an opportunity, we have thought good to present the same to your Honour in writing, humbly begging your Honours' favourable excuse, and to give us the privilege to subscribe ourselves,

"Right Honourables,

"Your Honours' most devoted Servants,

"THO. PAPILLON,

"JOHN DUBOIS,

"In the name of ourselves and the rest deputed from the French Consistory, London."

"8th September, 1657."

The interest taken by Thomas Papillon in the independence of the French Church in England is also shewn by the following abridged (autograph) account of another dispute, in which the invasion of their rights was threatened by the Synod of Normandy.

Mr. James Fell, who was educated by the French Church at Dieppe in order to be their Minister, came to London, and was desired by the French Church there to remain with them. He wrote to the Church at Dieppe to acquaint them of it, and to request that as he had finished his University studies, they should either at once call him to their Church, or permit him to accept this advantageous offer: the Church at Dieppe, in full

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Consistory, allow him to accept it; but some among them, without declaring at the time, apply to the Synod of Normandy to call him, which the Synod order; but in the meantime the Church of London elect him, and in a Cœtus offer to ordain him, together with Mr. Primrose, likewise chosen to be a Minister. But at Mr. Rosseau's desire they defer action till they procure his formal discharge from Dieppe; and they of Dieppe excuse themselves, their Synod having otherwise ordered. On this the London Church resolve to retain him: 1—Because he was regularly discharged from Dieppe. 2—There was no appeal to the Synod. 3—Our Churches are not liable to the orders of a French Synod. 4—The Church in London universally insist on it and only a few in France oppose it. Thomas Papillon drew up the reasons.

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CHAPTER IV.

DISPUTES WITH THE CUSTOMS AND EXCISE OFFICERS; AND GENERAL OBJECTIONS TO EXCISE DUTIES ON FOREIGN GOODS IMPORTED.

In 1653 Papillon prepares a Case opposing demand by Customs for an Export duty on Lead—Counsel confirms his view—and the Council of State concurs—In 1668 he disputes the right of the Customs and Excise Commissioners to charge duty on Brandy as on "Strong Waters perfectly made"—the Excise Commissioners order payment of the duty demanded, though the Customs have seized the goods—the matter is referred to the Law Courts and opposite judgments obtained—order of the King in Council for an amicable settlement by the Judges—result in favour of Papillon and Colleagues—Sneering remarks of Pepys on Papillon's suit—Arguments of Papillon against Excise import duties.

THE foregoing remonstrance in relation to Church discipline was not Thomas Papillon's first contest on behalf of supposed right; although he had been willing to submit to parental authority, and was ever ready to respect legal demands, he could not brook the unjust claims of those in office. Gallic combativeness, and inherent love of justice impelled him no doubt in the latter direction, while moral and religious feelings induced the former.

In 1653, when under thirty years of age, we find him successfully disputing a Customs' claim on the exportation of lead to foreign parts, though such was due only from aliens. The claim was made under an Act of 1642, which based its demands on one of 27th Edward III. limiting the charge to aliens, while the Customs claimed the duty as a new impost on English subjects.

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Thomas Papillon drew up a case for Counsel (which is among his autograph M.SS.) and submitted it to Mr. Wyndham, who gave an opinion decidedly favourable to his view; and he was at once joined by nineteen other merchants in a Petition to the Council of State, by which the matter was "adjourned in their favour."

About fourteen years later, he resisted an illegal claim of double duty on brandy, made by the Customs and Excise farmers, and supported by their Commissioners, as though it were "Strong Waters perfectly made."

Two Acts had been passed in 1660, each directing "For every gallon of spirits made of any kind of wine or cider imported, 2d.; for every gallon of strong waters perfectly made, imported from beyond the seas, 4d."

For about six years from the time of these enactments, the Commissioners of Customs and excise, and the farmers both past and present, levied only 2d. a gallon on spirits, including brandy; but the importation of this article much increased, and the farmers insisted that the duty of only 2d. applied to "Wine and cider imported," and that brandy must be regarded as "Strong Waters perfectly made," (which it is not; though it was apprehended that the farmers intended to sue Parliament to declare it such in a new Act.)

The brandy merchants, led by Thomas Papillon, promptly entered a suit in the Court of Exchequer against this novel and unjust construction of the Acts, and obtained a verdict in their favour; but the Commissioners obtained an opposite verdict in the Court of King's Bench: and the farmers finding they could not seize the goods while protected by the Court of Exchequer, nor sue the importers who entered them under false names, proposed to the merchants that suits should be entered

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afresh in the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, and that the verdict should rest with the majority of judgments given. To this, however, the merchants would not agree, being already secure in the Exchequer. The farmers therefore appealed for protection to the King in Council, who referred the case to all the Judges "To consider of the matter in difference between the merchants and the petitioners concerning the said duty on brandy, and in case they do not agree in their opinions (all the parties concerned seeming willing to submit to their determination) that the said Judges present to his Majesty in Council such expedients as they shall judge proper for putting an end to the said differences by trial, with equality both to the petitioners and the said merchants, and also for preventing the entering of goods in the names of unknown persons (not the rightful proprietors) by means whereof his Majesty may be defrauded of the duties due and accruing according to law."

This Order in Council was made on 31st March, 1669, and was finally favourable to the merchants; but on 21st August following it appears from Pepys' Diary that, as he says, "Here also [in the Council Chamber] I heard Mr. Papillon make his defence against some complaints of the farmers of Excise; but it was so weak, and done only by his own seeking, that it was to his injury more than profit, being ill-managed, and in a cause against the King." Pepys was a thorough-going supporter of the Government, and thus sneered at Papillon's proceedings, but surely "there was a cause."

The case was several years in progress, and in the petition to the King in Council above-mentioned, the Excise farmers refer to it as "the great contest between the merchants and themselves."

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On 18th March, 1669, the Excise Commissioners held a Court, in which Thomas Papillon was sued for £880 16s. 10d. value of brandy on which the duty on strong waters had not been paid; and although the Customs had seized the goods, the Excise Commissioners demanded their value.

The fact is that the system of farming the revenue constantly proved an incentive to fraud and oppression, and led to collusion between the Commissioners and the farmers. (See Gray's Parliamentary Debates, vol. I. pp. 237, &c.)

Moreover, the frequent imposition of new duties for specific purposes much complicated fiscal proceedings, and rendered extortion the easier.

In February, 1671, Papillon drew up a paper headed "Some brief Reasons against the Excise of foreign Commodities," &c., of which the following is an abstract:

"'1st—That the additional duty already charged at the Customs House was declared to be in lieu of Excise, and therefore to set up another Excise on the same commodities, is a double charge, and seems contrary to the former declaration.'

"2nd—These additional duties will much injure the trade of the country:—

"(1)—By inducing other countries to retaliate, to the reduction of English exports; such a step is already mooted in Brittany, where our drapery has been hitherto admitted duty free.

"(2)—By impeding the importation of goods with a view to their exportation; the King of France is so sensible of the benefit accruing to trade from this practice, that he affords it every facility; but if he be hampered by the vexations attending English Excise, merchants will not undertake it: and by these vexations even home trade will be discouraged.

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"(3rd)—Excessive duties are sure to involve their illicit evasion, to the injury of the honest trader, and of trade at large.

"(4th)—The retrospective character of these duties will place both merchants and shopkeepers in a most unfair and invidious position; no one will be secure, nor aware how he stands.

"Lastly—'The method of collecting, recovering, and securing the Excise by penalties, forfeitures, and oaths, and the erection of an office (court) whereby traders are liable to be undone every day on the oath of a single person, swearing in part for his own profit,' liable also 'to have their houses broken open on any ground of jealousy or malicious pretence, to have their goods, and other men's goods in their custody, carried away at any officer's pleasure, whether the owner be present or no, and the said goods confiscated and sold if the true owner come not to claim them by a certain day, whether he have notice of it or no, or be in a capacity to attend,'—these, and various attendant circumstances are indeed intolerable.'"

Extortions by the Customs Officers were clearly of old date; for in the records of the House of Lords of 1624 (see Historical M.SS. Commission—Report III. page 33) we find mention: "May 20th" of a "Draft of an Act to avoid the extortions and exactions of customers, controllers, surveyors, collectors, searchers, waiters, clerks, and other officers or persons employed in and about the Customs and subsidies of our Sovereign Lord the King."

How necessary was it for such fiscal evils to again be held up to reprobation.

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CHAPTER V.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF TRADE ON THE GRIEVANCES OF THE EASTLAND COMPANY RELATIVE TO THE NORWAY TIMBER TRADE, ETC.—REASONS AGAINST FURTHER SUSPENSION OF THE NAVIGATION ACT, AND COUNSEL TO PERMIT THE PURCHASE OF SIXTY FOREIGN TIMBER SHIPS—MR. PAPILLON'S AND MR. CHILD'S EVIDENCE BEFORE A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, RELATIVE TO THE DECAY OF TRADE.

Reasons adduced by Papillon for not renewing the Suspension of Navigation Act—probable objections, with replies—On the Norway Timber Trade—Papillon and others of the Council of Trade state their views on the alleged decay of Trade—Opinion of Mr. Child, and suggestions; a reduction of the legal rate of interest recommended and adopted.

IN the beginning of 1669, Thomas Papillon appears to have been an active member of the Council of Trade, which was a body of statesmen and merchants recently formed, to advise the Government on mercantile affairs; and various M.SS., some autograph, some otherwise, relative to its proceedings, are among his papers.

1.—The first matter was a petition of the Eastland (Baltic) Company, praying for the restoration of their exclusive privileges, and for redress against the Danish Government, which had of late much oppressed them in their trade; the petition being accompanied by a statement

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of their success in the trade, to the national benefit, from the date of their charter in 21st Elizabeth to the time of the Civil War.

The statement of the Company is an interesting document, shewing the purpose and effect of ancient trading charters, and seems worthy of record in extenso; while the report of the Council of Trade on their petition will disclose the tenour of the latter, and the mercantile views of the day. It disregards, however, their prayer for restoration of exclusive privileges.

"FURTHER REASONS, HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COUNCIL FOR TRADE, FOR SUPPORT OF THE COMPANY OF EASTLAND MERCHANTS.

"The trade of the Baltic Seas, was above 300 years past, discovered by our predecessors at great charge and hazard; in which notwithstanding the English had no great interest until it pleased Queen Elizabeth (21° Regni) to incorporate them by a charter; which was granted, not only for their encouragement, but also to enable them under a well ordered government to rescue the trade from the hands of other nations, who then almost wholly enjoyed it; and to advance it in the hands of skilful and native merchants; to protect it abroad from foreign injuries and oppression. And with what success of honour and benefit to this kingdom the same hath been pursued, the precedents of former times do clearly testify, and may appear by the following instances, which have fallen within the compass of our own memory and experience.

"1.—We have in former years exported annually 14,000 broad cloths, fully manufactured, besides kerseys, perpetuanes, northern dozens, and other commodities of wool to the like value. Notwithstanding which great quantities exported by us, our constant care was, not to debase the commodity, by selling the same at mean rates; but rather, in the case of too full a market, to preserve it in magazines abroad till an opportunity of better sale; by which means the credit of our English manufactures

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hath been so upheld in foreign parts, that our main profit hath been raised upon the same, out of the purse of the stranger; and not upon our returns here sold to the English, as now it is.

"2—Having made this advantage by our English commodities abroad, we were thereby enabled to make plentiful returns in hemp, flax, pitch, tar, potash, tallow, masts, oars, deals, copper, iron, steel, corn, and other commodities, being of absolute necessity for the strength and service of this land, and for employment of the poor: with all which this kingdom was furnished at reasonable rates (sometimes cheaper than the cost) besides an overplus in gold and silver, which we have frequently imported in great quantities, to the increase of the general stock of the nation: and of these foreign commodities we also kept a magazine in England; not only for a constant supply of the markets here, but sufficient to furnish other foreign places, and that at easier rates than since the time our Government hath desisted.

"3.—In this large trade, out and home, we have employed about 200 English ships yearly, all of good burthen and fit for defence and service; by which means this Company proved a singular nursery of seamen; having by computation disbursed in way of freight £60,000 per annum; it being also their constant endeavour and care, to use English ships only (if such were to be had) and no other; thereby performing the intent of the Act of Navigation before it was in being; and that with more advantage to the public interest of that trade, than is now produced by the Act.

"4.—Being looked upon abroad as an united society, we have been understood as able to make or divert a trade; and consequently to oblige cities to procure justice, and to serve and honour his Majesty and his kingdoms, on several occasions; having obtained such immunities in foreign parts as have equalled, if not exceeded, those of the natives; as particularly, a freedom from taxes, and several burthens which the natives themselves bore; a liberty to buy and sell, not only with the citizens where we traded, but with strangers also; a power to preserve the estate of any Englishman dying in Poland, which by the laws of that country is confiscated to the Prince; a

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power to end differences of the English amongst themselves, without being exposed to the snares and rigour of foreign laws; and if any injury were done by strangers to any particular factor, the same was resented as done against the whole body, and reparation gained by them with more facility and less charge: which services, with many others, were not to be effected by single persons, who are not so able to resist injuries, nor can expect that respect abroad, which an united society may enjoy.

"And that these advantages are to be accounted to a well regulated Association may further appear by considering what contrary and sad effects have been produced since the government of this Company hath been intermitted for these many years past, viz., since the beginning of the late unhappy troubles, for,

"(1.)—Our native commodities are incredibly debased in the foreign places of our trade; which hath happened by the confused and uncontrolled trading of interlopers and unskilful persons of late years, and the continued trading of strangers now; By whose practices we being disabled to make profit of our English manufactures abroad, are necessitated to advance the same upon the foreign commodities imported; which we confess must prove a great diminution to the stock of this kingdom.

"(2).—As an effect of this irregular trading and debasing the English manufactures abroad, our cloth and other commodities vented in the East parts, is contracted to a small proportion of the former quantities there sold by us: and of 200 English ships formerly employed in this trade, scarce —— are now used in a year.

"(3.)—The discredit of our manufactures abroad, and the lessening of that trade occasion the exportation of gold and silver, which is the customary practice of the stranger, as these late times have abundantly testified: and the permission and enlargement of the trade of strangers will much more occasion that evil.

"(4.)—Great hath been the industry of strangers in Poland and Prussia of late years, to advance their manufactures of cloth, by procuring English workmen and stealing fullers' earth into those parts; and as great hath been the care of our Company

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to prevent such conveyances; whereas an open trade will much more help and confirm them in those designs, to the destruction of our native commodities: and we dare boldly affirm, that nothing hath more promoted foreign clothing than the want of encouragement to Corporations of Merchants in these late times.

"(5.)—It is evident that through the want of government here we are already in great measure, and shall in a short time be totally deprived of what foreign privileges we have formerly had, and might still enjoy; and instead thereof be exposed to unusual burthens, when we shall be wholly unable to expel them.

"By all which may easily be discerned the benefits of government, and the ill consequences attending the want thereof: most of which mischiefs we humbly conceive will not be effectually remedied otherwise than by encouraging the traders with such privileges and power as they formerly had, and in particular with a continuance of the Proclamation first granted by King James, and afterwards by his late Majesty, and since ordered to be renewed by his now Majesty. The sole question in this case seeming to be, Whether the carrying on of this trade (so considerable in many respects) should be in the hands of his Majesty's subjects, or of Strangers.

"All which is humbly submitted."

The following is from an autograph paper by Thomas Papillon, docketed, "Copy of Report to the Council of Trade from the Committee touching the Norway trade; made the 11th February, 1668."

Thomas Papillon was a member of the Committee of the Council appointed to report upon the Eastland Company's Petition, and from the additions and erasures in this paper it seems probable that he prepared it himself.

"The Committee in pursuance of the order of the Council of Trade of the 14th January last, have heard the Eastland

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merchants, and other owners of ships, and mariners, touching the grievances and obstructions of the English trade in Norway and Denmark, and through the Sound, and humbly report to the Board as followeth:—

"That by the Treaty made in anno 1660, between his Majesty and the King of Denmark, provision was made in the 13th and 24th Articles, That the English should enjoy the same privileges and pay no greater or other tolls and impositions than the Dutch or any other nation except the Swede.

"Yet since the late war, the Treaty made at Breda not having, as we find, particularly confirmed the same, the officers of the King of Denmark on pretence that the English are strangers, and without the tractate, as they call it, do very much abuse the English.

"In measuring their ships at their pleasure without any fixed known rule, and generally one-third part at least more than formerly—in exacting greater tolls and impositions of the English than of the Dutch and French, about one-third more than was paid since the foresaid Treaty of 1660—as also a certain duty of eight rix dollars on every ship above 50 last, for liberty of trade, called '*Ingoen de toll.*'

"For particular instance of which they have caused two Tollsedles of one and the same ship to be translated and hereunto annexed, whereby it appears that the same ship which in April, 1664, was measured but at 120 last, and paid but 96 rix dollars, was in June last measured 160 last, and paid 240 rix dollars.

"Further, by the said Treaty in anno 1660, it was provided in the 18th Article, That firs, masts, or other timber laden on board English ships should not be visited after laden, nor the English any way troubled for the same, on pretence that any part was prohibited.

"Yet now the English are daily in danger of the confiscation of their ships and goods in case they lade any large masts or great timber.

"Also the English in several parts of Norway are debarred the free liberty of selling their goods, even to burghers of these towns, but at certain times and seasons, viz., at Dennten they

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are limited to sell only in the months of March and September; at Christiana and Bergen they are not permitted to sell their goods unless the same be done within 14 days' time of the ship's arrival, and in case any be not sold in that time the officers at Christiana take the remaining goods out of the possession of the English, and carry them to the Tolboth or Customs House, where they remain till another ship comes in, and then they have liberty again for 14 days for sale of them together with the new goods brought, and so from time to time.

"Also the English passing the Sound have had more toll taken from them than ought to be by any public placard or book of rates, the officers pretending private books that none ought to have but themselves: and though upon complaint some part hath sometimes been restored, yet not all, as appears by a letter from John Paul, H.M.'s Consul at Elsinore, bearing date the 10th March last.

"By reason of which extraordinary impositions and exactions English ships cannot be employed but at great disadvantage, and thereby the Dane increaseth much in shipping, and enhanceth his freights, and the English decrease, and in a little time that trade, unless some speedy remedy be applied, will wholly fall into the hands of Strangers, and be managed only in foreign ships, to the discouragement of the English navigation and seamen, and the obstruction of the vent of English manufactures.

"For remedy whereof, and to oblige the Dane to allow the English the same privileges as formerly, and also for the supply of the present occasions of the City [of London] some have proposed,—

"That the liberty his Majesty was pleased in great wisdom to grant the last year to the English to import Norway timber and deals in any foreign ships whatsoever, might continue for a longer time; yet, forasmuch as H.M. intended the same only for the present exigency [viz., the rebuilding of London after the great Fire],—it is to be remarked,—That the state of affairs is much altered since that time, and that it is much opposed by owners and builders of ships, and seamen, as being contrary to the Act of Navigation, as also that on several other considerations such liberty may not now be advantageous

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to H.M.'s kingdom in general. The Committee cannot be of opinion at present that H.M. be advised to continue the said permission any longer than the 25th March next, to which time H.M. hath limited the same,

"But do in all humility report their opinion that this Board would present it as their humble opinion and advice to his Majesty,

"That H.M. would be graciously pleased by some Treaty with the King of Denmark, to procure the same privileges for the English as they had by the Treaty of 1660, and that the English may have the like free liberty to sell their goods at any time in any of the cities or other places of Denmark and Norway as the subjects of the King of Denmark have in England.

"As also that having paid their due customs, they may not be put out of the possession of their goods; and also such other privileges as H.M. shall think good, which they humbly conceive the Dane ought in all equity to admit, for that they have and do enjoy the same privileges in England now, as they did immediately after the Treaty of 1660, and are as favourably treated by H.M.'s officers as are the English themselves.

"But in case the Dane on treaty will not give reciprocal privileges to the English,—Then that some imposition may be laid on his ships, to answer in proportion what he exacts of the English, that so the English ships may be put in a capacity of trading on equal terms.

"And to the end there may not be a want of English ships for carrying on this trade, at this time more especially so necessary,—It is humbly proposed:

"That his Majesty may please to grant, That the ships taken by virtue of H.M.'s Commission in the late wars by the Scots, and that shall have been, or hereafter be, bought by the English, may be allowed for free English ships, to be employed in the Norway trade, or the Baltic Seas, or for Salt from any place, they sailing with an English Master, and three-fourths of the mariners English:

"As also,—That permission may be given to the English to buy some foreign built ships not exceeding the number of 60

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in all; which said ships so bought to enjoy the freedom of English ships to be employed in trades, and under the limitations before mentioned.

"All which is humbly submitted," &c.

Having disposed of the subject of the Norway timber trade as regards the Danish and English Governments respectively, the Council of Trade soon considered it in its more domestic aspect, especially in regard to the prolonged suspension of the Navigation Act, which some people proposed. The views of the Council, as drawn up by a Committee, again appears in an autograph paper by Papillon, of which the following is an abstract: the paper is docketed April, 1669, and bears this heading:

"Some of the Reasons and grounds that induced the Committee and afterwards the Council of Trade to advise his Majesty not to continue the Suspension of the Act of Navigation, but to give liberty for buying of 60 foreign built ships to be appropriated to that trade and for Salt."

[Abstract of Reasons, &c.]

"1.—It is very necessary that timber should be imported from Norway, sufficient for the rebuilding of London.

"2.—But it is very undesirable to prolong the Suspension of the Navigation Act, as it will materially affect Ship-building and Seamanship, which are most requisite industries, both for trade and defence—and will throw all the profits attending them into the hands of foreigners, thus reducing the stock of the nation: The cost of carrying goods is equal in amount to half the value of the goods imported; so that if £200,000 worth of timber be imported annually, £100,000 goes to the ship-builder, merchant, and seamen; and if foreign ships bring it, so much is lost to the nation: Moreover, if the

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trade be discouraged it will pass permanently into foreign hands, the Danes and the Dutch—and it is easier to lose a trade than to regain it.

"3.—But the English neither have, nor ever have had, ships suitable for the timber trade—those hitherto used having been chiefly foreign prizes—it is therefore very desirable that the purchase of, say 60, foreign timber ships be permitted: 1—To maintain the necessary supply of timber; 2—To serve as the nucleus for a national stock of such ships.

'If it be objected that, 'The buying of these ships will take away as much stock of the nation as the Suspension of the Act of Navigation,'

"'Answer 1.—No; the buying of 60 ships, if we account £1,000 a ship, will cost but £60,000; the stock of the nation will lose by the other in one year above £100,000.'

"'Answer 2.—For the laying out of this £60,000, you do accrue a suitable addition of riches to the nation; for shipping is equivalent to the money in value; 'Whereas the other is gone, and nothing left.''

"'Answer 3.—The disbursement of this £60,000 is but like seed; it will bring in more; whereas the other is a seed sown on an enemy's ground, who will reap the crop.'

"'Answer 4.—When we have ships of our own, The provisions of the nation go for victualling, and manufactures for clothing, and all trades are set to work: whereas if Strangers be our Carriers, they carry away our Money, but expend little or none of our commodities.'

"4.—It is worthy of consideration whether a similar step should not be adopted with respect to the Eastland trade, from which the Dutch now reap a large profit in the importation of salt, wine, brandy, &c.

"The purchase of foreign ships was opposed, 1—As unnecessary; 2—As throwing money into the hands of the foreigner. But these objections had already been met by the facts adduced."

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In the autumn of 1669 a Committee of the House of Lords sat "to consider of the causes and grounds of the fall of rents and decay of trade within these kingdoms." Several of the Council of Trade were summoned to give evidence, and among them Thomas Papillon; and a summary of his evidence, as of other members, appears in the Records of the House of Lords, quoted by the Historical M.SS. Commission, Report VIII.; but the following more accurate and fuller statement is among his own autograph M.SS.:—

"The substance of what I said at the Committee of the House of Lords for enquiring the reasons of the decay of trade, the 4th November, 1669:

"Mr. Josias Child having been very long in insisting on the means the Dutch had taken to advance their trade, on several defects in our laws, &c., I was desired not to speak again to what had been spoken, so I was prohibited in what I might have said,—

"I told their Lordships that the consideration of trade and all the circumstances and necessary dependencies thereupon, was of so large an extent, as they might perceive by the many particulars before instanced, that it would require not only a day, but many days' study of the most able and judicious persons,—

"That I conceived there were three essentials of trade, without the concurrence of which trade could not be carried on and increased, to wit,

"'Stock,
People,
And the improvement of both.'

"By Stock, I meant not only Money but all Commodities; by People, not only Merchants, but all sorts, handicraftsmen, artificers, &c.

"As to Stock, the late fire had without question been a great impairing of the same, specially considering how much was now employed in building, which would otherwise have been employed in trade,

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"As to People, the late Plague had consumed some hundred thousands, and so deprived us of so many hands to improve our commodities by manufacture, and so many mouths to have consumed our corn and provisions; and this could not but occasion a decay in trade.

"As to the improvement of both Stock and People,

"1st.—I told them we did not improve our commodities by manufacture; but great quantities of wool were exported from Ireland and England, which was very prejudicial to the nation; one lb. of wool sold raw yielded but 10d., which manufactured would yield 2s. 6d. to 3s. and 4s., which was so much addition to the stock of the nation, being only the labour and industry of the People.

"2ndly—That by trivial and vexatious law suits, both at Common Law and Civil Law, much of the stock and many of the people were diverted from trade; and the money and time expended in that way, if employed in trade, would be a great advantage to the nation.

"3rdly—That the unsettledness of men's minds in reference to Religion was a great diversion, and impediment to trade: For people being always under fears of being debarred of their liberty that way, would not freely engage in trade, that they might on that account have no hindrance to remove,—many choosing rather to go to other countries where they might have liberty, than to stay here in case they should be denied the same.

"And whereas it had been proposed in order to the advance of trade that a general liberty of foreigners to settle here would be advantageous, I did agree therein with this caution, that they be such Foreigners as might and would incorporate into the nation, and become English; for that otherwise, I conceived they would suck the riches and treasure of the nation, and in the end carry it away to other countries: I instanced the Jews that never would incorporate with us, but that the French and Walloons and other Protestants would marry here, and become one with us.

"I gave them an account of some French Weavers that

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were now imprisoned by the Weavers' Company for working here, which practice was to drive away trade, and not the way to increase it.

"As to the general,

"I did conceive that trade was not so decayed as people did imagine—For there was as much trade now as ever, but the profits on trade were less; And so, the improvements of land were as much and more than formerly, both in regard of the Fens and other waste lands, but the profits were less, both depending on one another.

"I said that what had been told them as to the loss of the Irish trade was true, that now that trade was wholly drove by foreigners, and though I would not assign the reason of it, yet it was a great loss to the nation.

"That the reason, as I conceived, Why the profits in trade decreased, was because other countries did more than ever addict themselves to the encouragement and advance of trade; and in particular the French King, who gave all encouragement to his own people and manufactures, and discouragement to Foreigners by high impositions, as on drapery, &c.

"And therefore their Lordships might see what great reason there was to make trade easy, and remove all burdens on trade; for that if we could not trade on as easy terms, and furnish commodities as cheap, as other nations, we should not only in a little time cause our trade to decay, but lose our trade itself, and be beaten out of all trade.

"And here I took occasion to acknowledge his Majesty's great care, and of those Ministers he employs of late in reference to foreign treaties, to send to the merchants to advise how such treaties might be made, as might be for the good of trade, as in the French and Norway treaties now on foot.

"And so we concluded that we had cause to bless God for his Majesty, and for those employed by him, and also for their Lordships, that God had put it into their hearts to mind and consider the trade of the nation, wherein so much of the good and welfare of the nation depended, and desired God to bless their consultations therein."

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Both historically and relatively we will here record the views of Mr. Child (afterwards Sir Josiah Child) on the subject, as closely corresponding with those of Thomas Papillon, though within a few years they were to differ, even to opposition, in relation to the conduct of the East India Company.

The following account is taken from Report VIII. of the Historical M.SS. Commission, pp. 133-4:—

"HOUSE OF LORDS—1669, OCT. 28. DECAY OF TRADE, &c.

"Minutes of proceedings of the Committee appointed to consider of the causes and grounds of the fall of rents and decay of trade within these kingdoms.

" . . . . . Dr. Worsley, Mr. Child, and other members of the Council of Trade gave evidence before it.

"Mr. Child attributed the prosperity of the trade of the Dutch to their fidelity in their seal, encouragement of Inventors (whom they reward, and make their inventions public, instead of granting a Patent as here), thrift, small ships, low duties, poor laws, mercantile law, easy admission of burghers, inland navigation, low interest, fisheries, colonies, religious liberty, education.

"English trade had increased in gross. Persecutions abroad had brought us several trades, such as Milan and jean fustians; comfit-makers brought in by one that escaped the Inquisition; Maidstone thread is carried all over the world.

"The drawbacks to English trade, are dishonest aulnage, dishonest packing of fish, Bankruptcy Statute, Taxes on home manufactures, Statutory obligation to serve Apprentice, export of coin, trade bye-laws, bad poor laws, scarcity of labour, the Fire and the Plague, and the heavy land-taxes which preceded them, usual plenty of corn, racking up of rents 51 and 52, high bank rates, anticipation of revenue; improvement of Ireland, which exports to the Colonies in Dutch ships:—The Irish Cattle Act ineffectual. The Eastland, Russia, Norway, Greenland, and Scotch trades much impaired by the exclusiveness of the Companies' high duties, or free trade without reciprocity.

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"The way to promote trade is by increasing the capital of the nation, and by the use of bills of exchange and registers. Perfect free trade is an advantage. Increase the stock of labour and capital."

On receiving the first Report, the House proceeded to consider the question of reducing the rate of interest; and on the 1st December several persons were examined before a Committee of the whole House.

Against the reduction were Captain Titus and Mr. Clayton, while in favour of it were Mr. Child, Mr. Gold, Mr. Papillon, Sir Henry Blunt, Mr. Buckworth, and Mr. Hobland" (Houblon), &c., &c.

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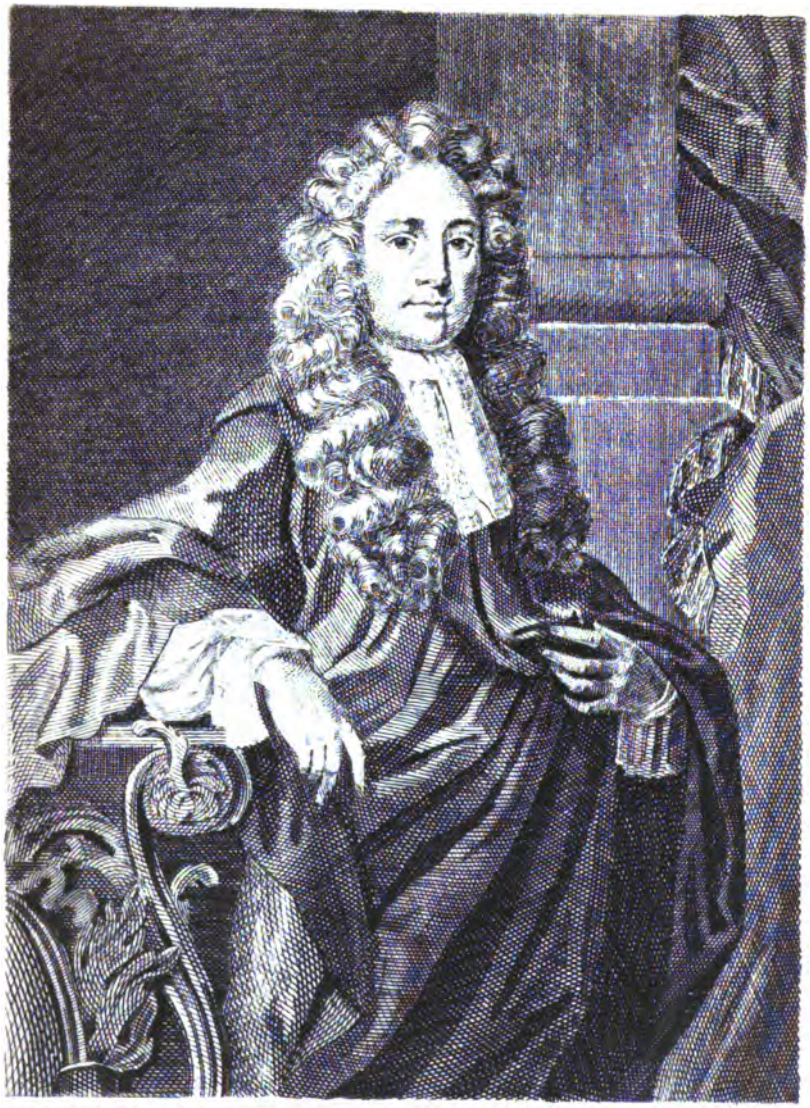

Sr. Josiah Child Bar.

Published as the Act directs April 1. 1705. by W. Faithorne & Tho. Stretch Worcester Row

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CHAPTER VI.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Sketch of the origin and progress of the Company—Papillon joins it in 1657—is Director for several years, and twice Deputy-Governor—is excluded from Directorate in 1676, together with Mr. Child, by desire of the King—In 1681 favours a change in the Constitution of the Company—In 1689 joins the New Company since formed—and prepares Articles of Constitution for it—Extract from Macaulay describing the contest of the two Companies—and stoppage in the Thames, by Admiralty order, of the Ship *Redbridge*, belonging to Sir Gilbert Heathcote and others—The House of Commons takes up the case—Papillon Chairman of Committee of the whole House on it—Renewed conflict of the two Companies—Establishment by Law of the New Company—Papillon earnestly desires an accommodation—his letter on it to Sir Josiah Child—Sir Josiah Child's reply—very characteristic—Anonymous Letter on Papillon's connection with the two Companies—In 1665 Papillon remonstrates with an Alderman's Wife on her having traduced him in relation to her Nephew, who had been discharged by the Company—Papillon attends the Breda Treaty Conference in 1667, as one of a Deputation from the Company.

TOWARDS the end of the sixteenth century the foreign trade of England was still young; and as children look to their parents for support, so did merchants to their Sovereign. Hence arose the Royal Charters for trading to various parts—as those of the Turkey Company, the Eastland Company, the Guinea Company—and lastly, on 31st December, 1600, that granted by Queen Elizabeth to the East India Company.

The Sovereign was glad to promote trade, and the merchants were glad of the protection afforded; but the charters were limited in their benefits to the members of the particular companies, or to parties licensed by them; and thus individual enterprise, the soul of commerce, was checked, and nepotism fostered.

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On the other hand, trade in distant parts was often insecure—sometimes from the armed ships of hostile European nations; and sometimes from the caprice of native princes; for in those days the Royal Navy seldom visited remote shores, and consuls were unknown. Hence, the privileged union of certain traders was beneficial, so far as "Union is strength."

When Queen Elizabeth granted her Charter to the East India Company, the Portuguese, with whom England was at war, claimed the exclusive right of trading eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, in virtue of their discovery of that route to the East Indies; but the Dutch, then a rising Republic, had successfully disputed the right, and had established themselves at various places in the Indian seas; and thus, when the English went there, they had both nations as rivals and enemies; nevertheless, they gradually founded Settlements, and made treaties with Native Princes.

Though many merchants gladly subscribed to the Charter of Elizabeth, few paid up their calls; and for twelve years or more the trade of the Company was carried on by individual members, who combined, from time to time, to fit out and despatch ships, and divided the profits *inter se.*

In 1612, however, the Directors of the Company, whose office had as yet been a sinecure, induced the members to declare for nothing but joint-stock trading; and thus they themselves acquired considerable power and influence.

The joint-stock system was pursued without much precision, and with very varying results, during the remainder of the reign of James I., and that of Charles I., each of which Monarchs renewed the Charter of Elizabeth.

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In 1635, private merchants began to trade to the East Indies in spite of the Charter.

During the Civil War, the Company's trade waxed very low; and they had a new rival in Sir William Courtney and Company, to whom Charles I. had granted a Charter for trading to places contiguous to those occupied by the East India Company; and though, at the instance of the Company, he had revoked this Charter in 1638, Courtney and Company still traded under it up to 1650; then the East India Company appealed to the Council of State, and Parliament united the two parties.

Again in 1654, various of the original members of the Company sent out ships on their own account; and in 1655, Cromwell gave them leave to despatch four more; but in 1657, by advice of the Council of State, he renewed the exclusive Charter of Charles I., taking care, however, to unite with the Company the original members—or, "Merchant Adventurers"—whom he had previously recognized as independent traders.*

In 1661, Charles II. renewed the Charter of the Company, and in addition to the right of Civil Jurisdiction in their Settlements, which they had already enjoyed, he authorized the Company to make war or peace with non-Christian princes, and to seize and send home any unlicensed traders frequenting their coasts. These arbitrary powers resulted in much oppression, both to Natives and Englishmen.

The trade of the Company increased rapidly, and became very profitable during the reign of Charles II.: private traders increased also; and conflicts frequently occurred; so that at home and abroad two hostile camps

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* *Vide* Mill's History of British India.

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existed. The Company often established new settlements, but the private traders and the Dutch were constant rivals.

Thomas Papillon became a member of the Company on its revival in 1657, and took an active part in its proceedings for twenty-five years; being a Director from 1663 to 1670 inclusive, again in 1675, and from 1677 to 1682 inclusive, and Deputy-Governor in 1680 and 1681; his exclusion from the Directorate in 1676 was owing to a Cabal, in which some of his colleagues induced the King to write a letter enjoining that neither he nor Mr. Child should be elected—as appears from the following note in the Appendix to Report VII. of the Historical M.SS. Commission, p. 467:—

"1676. April 26. JOHN VERNEY TO SIR H. VERNEY.

"Disturbances among the East India Company, who were to bring in their votes for a new Government, &c., on Monday last, which was done. But some of them procured a letter from his Majesty forbidding the choice of Mr. Child or Mr. Papillon into that Committee. So the votes were sealed up, and some of them have been at the Council Board."

This interference was brought before the House of Commons as a grievance by Sir John Mallett, without the cognizance of Papillon; and the latter replied in dignified and loyal terms:—

"Mallett's mentioning him as above was a great surprise to him. He will not now open that matter, unless called on. It was a great trouble to him to have the King's displeasure; but if the matter be examined it will appear he has not merited it."*

* Gray's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. iv., pp. 138-9.

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It appears from the records of the Company, access to which has been kindly granted at the India Office, that on the eve of the election, the Secretary of State, Sir Joseph Williamson, wrote to the Chairman of the old Committee, stating that his Majesty having understood it was proposed to elect Mr. Child and Mr. Papillon as Governor and Deputy-Governor for the ensuing year, and being persons who had not behaved well to his Majesty, his Majesty would take it very ill from the Company if they should thus elect them.

The next day the annual meeting of the Company took place, and the Chairman read the Secretary's letter to the assembled shareholders. Debate at once ensued; and some regarded the interference as illegal, suggesting that counsel's opinion should be obtained, whereon the meeting was adjourned for three days. Meanwhile, the King sent for the Governor, and told him that he had always been kind to the Company, as the Company had been to himself, and that he had always respected their privileges, and was ready to do so still; but he hoped they would not elect as Governor, Deputy-Governor, or Committee-men, those who had behaved very ill to himself. And on the morning of the adjourned meeting of the shareholders, Secretary Williamson wrote again to the Governor, expressing his Majesty's sentiments as above.

The Governor supported the King's desire and proposed a resolution expressing the deep gratitude of the Company to his Majesty, "*under the beams of whose sun they had prospered, and without which they would wither and decay;*" and suggesting that no steps should be taken for a new election. This resolution was adopted; and on the Governor producing the list of elected Committee-men neither Child nor Papillon was found on it.

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What may have raised a dispute in the matter among the old Committee-men—or Directors—does not appear; nor what gave the King a pretext for objection to Child and Papillon. But the resolution of both Directors and Shareholders to secure his Majesty's favour, is very apparent. Possibly this view of the matter may have influenced Mr. Child in his subsequent course, as recorded further on. Both Child and Papillon were at this time Whigs; and in 1672-3 they had been associated together as contractors for victualling the Navy. Papillon was in Parliament, and had supported the opposition.

In 1680, when interlopers were becoming numerous, and when many desired that the trade should be thrown open, Papillon published a pamphlet strenuously maintaining that it could be pursued far better by an exclusive Joint-stock Company. 1—On account of treaties with Native Princes in India, without whose consent trade could not be prosecuted. 2—On account of the necessary establishment and maintenance of Factories and Forts. 3—On account of the greater profits to be obtained by a single company than by competing Traders.*

He always maintained the necessity of a privileged company; but being very averse to unjust or oppressive treatment of others, and desirous only of safe and profitable trading, he lent an ear to the loud complaints of interlopers and their friends, respecting the harsh and arbitrary treatment they had received in the East at the hands of the Company, and was ready to promote the formation of a new Company, which should comprise the old one, and be subject to popular guidance: the majority

* A copy of this pamphlet is in the British Museum Library.

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of the Directors, however, would brook no interference; and as to India itself, they aimed at becoming Rulers as well as Traders.

(Which of these was the sounder view has long been a contested point. For 150 years complaints against the Company were so rife that Parliament often interfered to restrict their powers; and the Company was often in debt. Let us be thankful, however, for the good results hitherto attained, and hope and strive for more.)

This difference of views appears in the footnotes of the following M.S. draft by Papillon of a Petition of the Company, prepared in November, 1681, when Mr. Child (afterwards Sir Josiah) who led the majority, was Governor, and Papillon Deputy-Governor. The climax is graphically described by Macaulay in his History of England.*

"When the Oxford Parliament had been dissolved, when many signs indicated that a strong reaction in favour of the prerogative was at hand, and when all the Corporations which had incurred the royal displeasure were beginning to tremble for their franchises, a rapid and complete revolution took place at the India House.

"Child, who was then Governor, separated himself from his old friends, excluded them from the Direction, and negotiated a treaty of peace and close alliance with the Court.

" . . . . . Papillon, Barnardiston, and other Whig Shareholders sold their stock; their places in the Committee were supplied by persons devoted to Child; and he was thenceforth the Autocrat of the Company. The treasures of the Company were at his absolute disposal. . . . . A present of 10,000 guineas was graciously received from him by Charles: 10,000 more were accepted by James, who readily consented to become a holder of stock. All who would help or hurt at Court, Ministers, Mistresses, Priests, were kept in good humour

* Macaulay's "History of England," chap. xviii.

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by presents of shawls, silks, birds' nests, and atar of roses, balses of diamonds, and bags of guineas. Of what the Dictator expended no account was asked by his colleagues; and in truth he seems to have deserved the confidence reposed in him. His bribes, distributed with judicious prodigality, speedily produced a large return. Just when the Court became all-powerful in the State, he became all-powerful at Court. Jeffreys pronounced a decision in favour of the monopoly, and of the strongest acts which had been done in defence of the monopoly. James ordered his seal to be put to a new Charter, which confirmed and extended all the privileges bestowed on the Company by his predecessors."

"11th November, 1681. COPY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S PETITION TO THE KING FOR A PROCLAMATION.

"Sheweth,

"That the trade to and from the East Indies is most conducing to render a Nation rich and opulent. The strenuous endeavours of so many European Nations to make themselves masters of the same doth undeniably demonstrate, as also doth their practice, That it can no way be so advantageously managed to those ends as by a Company in a Joint Stock.

"That your Petitioners, though with great charge, and after very considerable losses sustained for some years at first, yet by your Majesty's gracious favour and encouragement, as well by their own endeavours (through God's blessing), on the management, have now brought the said trade as renders it most beneficial to your Majesty, and your kingdoms, as well as profitable in some measure to themselves,—insomuch that it is the admiration and envy of the neighbour Nations.

"But so it is, may it please your Majesty, That some persons for their own private lucre and gain, without your Majesty's leave, and in contempt of your Majesty's Royal Charter, have of late taken upon them, in an irregular and clandestine way, to send ships, and to trade into those countries, and to hold correspondence with those heathen Princes and Governors.

"And your Petitioners further humbly shew unto your Majesty, That unless such Interloping and irregular trading be restrained,

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it will be impossible for your Petitioners to hold out and maintain the said trade, your Petitioners being at extraordinary charge to entertain Treaties and procure privileges from the Kings and Governors, as also to maintain Islands, Forts, and Factories,—Whereas these Interlopers by sinister ways partake of the privileges by them procured at vast expence without contributing anything to the charge; Besides, your Petitioners' estates in those countries be exposed to answer for any injury or damage that these heathen Kings, Princes, or Governors may at any time pretend such Interlopers have done, which may in an instant bring a total ruin on your Petitioners and the whole trade,—Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray, That your Majesty will graciously take the premises unto your princely consideration, and by your Royal Proclamation or otherwise, as in your Majesty's great wisdom shall be found most convenient, provide a remedy to prevent the loss of so beneficial a trade to the kingdom.

This not in fair copy. "And your Petitioners do in all humility declare their willingness after three years from the 10th April next, if your Majesty shall please so to direct, to put a conclusion to the present Joint Stock, and in the meantime to lay open a book of Subscription for all that will adventure in a new Joint Stock, to commence at the expiration of the said term, on such conditions as your Majesty shall think indifferent.

"And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

"The last part left out on debate.

"The Governor saith he was to meet the Lords to perfect the Report upon the Petitions.

"The Governor in this debate said that 'Sir Jo. Ashe upon the former application said the King would not do it': There is no record of this answer.

"The Governor said, 'This clause brought in to do us a mischief': Upon which the Deputy vindicated himself."

"11th November, 1681."

On reference to the Minutes of the Court of Adventurers of the East India Company, preserved at the India Office

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—kindly granted by the authorities there—it appears that on this occasion Mr. (afterwards Sir Josiah) Child was the Governor, and Thomas Papillon the Deputy-Governor; and thus it is evident that even then they much differed in opinion as to the enlargement and reconstruction of the Company.

Child's success at Court increased the popular clamour against himself and the Company; and so many Interlopers —chiefly Whigs—engaged in the trade that they became a powerful and compact body, bent on resistance to the claims of the Monopoly. It does not appear that Papillon took part, at first, in this hostility; for soon after the beginning of his exile in 1685, we find him on several occasions enquiring of his wife, who was still in London, after the progress of the Company; but on his return from exile in 1689, when he found the rival or New Company in actual existence, it would seem that he soon joined it, and warmly espoused its cause.

Before long the new Company demanded union with the old. Proposals to this effect were made to Parliament in February, 1691, and were well received; but the old Company, with Child as leader, would listen to nothing of the sort, and the strife became more and more embittered. To remedy this state of things, the King, in 1693, granted a modified Charter to the old Company, but so far from pacifying it towards the new, it rendered it more autocratic than ever, as described by Macaulay, Chapter XX., History of England.

Among Papillon's autograph papers is a draft of "Rules for the management of the trade to the East Indies to prevent the abuses and irregularities formerly observed therein."

The paper bears no date, but its tenor would indicate

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1690-1, being similar in most respects to the proposals made to Parliament in February, 1691—the common object being that of preventing the trade falling into the management of one person.

The immediate sequel to these rivalries is thus eloquently described by Macaulay, Chapter XX., History of England.

"Soon after the Parliament met [in 1693] the attention of the Commons was again called to the state of the trade with India, and the Charter which had just been granted to the old Company was laid before them. They would probably have been disposed to sanction the new arrangement, which in truth differed little from that which they had themselves suggested not many months before, if the Directors had acted with prudence.

"But the Directors, from the day on which they had obtained their new Charter, had persecuted the Interlopers without mercy, and had quite forgotten that it was one thing to persecute Interlopers in the Eastern Seas, and another to persecute them in the port of London. Hitherto, the war of the monopolists against the private trade had been carried on at the distance of 15,000 miles from England. If harsh things were done, the English public did not see them done, and did not hear of them till long after they had been done; nor was it by any means easy to ascertain at Westminster who had been right and who had been wrong in a dispute which had arisen three or four years before, at Moorshedabad or Canton. With incredible rashness the Directors determined at the very moment when the fate of their Company was in the balance, to give the people of this country a near view of the most odious features of the monopoly.

"Some wealthy merchants of London had equipped a fine ship, the *Redbridge*. Her crew was numerous, her cargo of immense value. Her papers had been made out for Alicante; but there was some reason to suspect that she was really bound for the countries lying beyond the Cape of Good Hope. She was stopped by the Admiralty, in obedience to an order which the Company obtained from the Privy Council, doubtless by

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the help of the Lord President. Every day that she lay in the Thames caused a heavy expense to the owners. The indignation in the City was great and general. The Company maintained that from the legality of the monopoly the legality of the detention necessarily followed. The public turned the argument round, and being firmly convinced that the detention was illegal, drew the inference that the monopoly must be illegal too. The dispute was at its height when the Parliament met. Petitions on both sides were speedily laid on the table of the Commons; and it was resolved that these Petitions should be taken into consideration by a Committee of the whole House. The first question on which the conflicting parties tried their strength was the choice of a chairman. The enemies of the old Company proposed Papillon, once the closest ally, and subsequently the keenest opponent of Child,* and carried their point by 138 votes to 136. The Committee proceeded to enquire by what authority the *Redbridge* had been stopped. One of her owners, Gilbert Heathcote, a rich merchant, and a staunch Whig, appeared at the Bar as a Witness. He was asked whether he would venture to deny that the ship had been really fitted for the India trade. 'It is no sin that I know of,' he answered, 'to trade with India, and I shall trade with India till I am restrained by Act of Parliament.' Papillon reported that in the opinion of the Committee the detention of the *Redbridge* was illegal. The question was then put that the House would agree with the Committee. The friends of the old Company ventured on a second division, and were defeated by 171 votes to 125.

"The blow was quickly followed up. A few days later it was moved that all subjects of England had equal right to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parliament; and

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* For this change of conduct towards the old Company, Macaulay charges Papillon with inconsistency; but regarding the growing divergence of views between himself and Child, above recorded, and the conduct of the latter, as described by Macaulay himself, Papillon's action is sufficiently justified.

Concerning the oppression of Interlopers in the Indies, it was no rare thing for the old Company's officers and ships to take possession *vi et armis* of the Interlopers' craft, and to cast into prison the leaders, detaining them there so long that on some occasions the climate and circumstances induced their death.

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the supporters of the old Company sensible that they were in a minority, suffered the motion to pass without a division.

"This memorable vote settled the most important of those Constitutional questions which had been left unsettled by the Bill of Rights. It has ever since been held to be sound doctrine, that no power but that of the whole Legislature can give to any person, or to any society, an exclusive privilege of trading to any part of the world."

This decision gave a great stimulus to the new Company; and the old Company, as usual, redoubled its exclusive efforts; and thus matters proceeded; but in 1698, Charles Montague, the able and adroit Chancellor of the Exchequer, being much in want of money, proposed a Bill in Parliament, and eventually carried it, establishing a new Company—or "*General Society for trading to the East Indies*"—which was first to raise £2,000,000 as a loan to the Government at eight per cent., and then to have power to trade to the East Indies to the same extent.

The old Company at once subscribed £315,000 to the fund, and resolved still to oppose the new Company in in every way it could.

Papillon much regretted this antagonism, and hence his letter as follows, to Sir Josiah Child, and similar applications, written and personal, to both old and new Companies. As heretofore the former would make no compromise; and Papillon did not live to see the two Companies united; but within four months of his death (1702) it was effected, at the earnest recommendation of William III., and within seven years the Companies were amalgamated.

Letter from Thomas Papillon to Sir Josiah Child:—

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"Sir Josiah Child,

"Honourable Sir,

"I omitted to acquaint you yesterday that I spake to the Lords on Wednesday last to appoint a time for the settling our Victualling Account. Their Lordships promised that the next time I came to their Board they would fix a time for it; I pray you therefore to direct Mr. Thorogood to be ready, and to attend it, that if possible it may be adjusted before we die.

"As to the other matter we discoursed of, I pray you to consider of such moderate and equal methods of composing matters, that we as Christians and Englishmen may prevent inconveniences that may befall one or the other Company if there be not an agreement, and that Ambassadors be sent at this juncture; the consequences of which, I apprehend, may be prejudicial to both, and to the nation in general. This will redound much to your honour, and if I can contribute any thing thereto, I shall be very happy to serve the Company, and assure you that I am in all sincerity, &c.,

"Tho. Papillon."

"22nd October, 1698."

[Reply.]

"Honoured Sir,

"In answer to yours of the 22nd I have reason to hope that you, that have known me from a youth, will believe me when I tell you that in point of my own interest, now when I am going out of the world, I am neither concerned for the Old Company nor the New one; the first has been under the saw of persecution ever since we were rid of our fears of Popery and French Government; and I, being in the case of Mephibosheth, since the Nation is safe and the King, have no anxious care for the increase of my own Estate, or my family's.

"I cannot say no member of the Company ever committed any fault, but I protest, and must do it to my death, that I do not yet know any one fault or mistake in their conduct that the Company committed during the late reigns.

"The worst that ever I knew them do, was lately in the sending of that roughling, immoral man, Mr. —— to India last year,

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which everybody knows I was always against; and the Adventurers resented it to such a degree as to turn out *eighteen* of that Committee, whereas I never before knew above *eight* removed.

"But to return to the business, if I can serve his Majesty or his Ministers for the good of my Country, I shall most gladly do it to the utmost of my poor ability; but I think our masters, the King's Ministers, Lords and Commons, are at the wrong end of their business. The first consideration, in my poor opinion, ought to be abstractively what powers a National East India Company ought to have for the public good, to hold up against the Dutch and other foreign Nations in India; and I say, and will maintain it against all mankind, by reason and experience, that it ought to be not less than absolute sovereign power in India: All other nations have the same, though variously expressed; which you may take notice of in the Dutch Rowktroy, the Scotch Act, or the last Charter of King James; any thing less than is contained in each of them is but daubing with untempered mortar, or building upon the sand; but to apprehend this notion fully will require more than one very serious debate.

"Next, as to conjoining the two Companies, if their bottom be good, I am so far from limiting, that I think all mankind, not only the Old and New Company, but Turks, Jews, and Infidels should be admitted, that will bring in their money, as they are admitted in Holland by the wiser Dutch.

"Touching the Forts, Cities, Towns, Castles and Ordnance mounted, which I presume are above 900, if not 1,000 by this time, and the Revenues and all Military Stores belonging to land,—soldiers, or garrisons, which verily I believe have cost the Company above £1,000,000 sterling, and are worth a great deal more to England;—their standing Revenue and Rents at this day I have reason to believe are not so little as £50,000 sterling per annum, and are and will be increasing every year. These I think the Company that is to be, should pay for in some reasonable manner, and that for the further increase of their stock, old and new Adventurers and Strangers ought to bring in ready-money.

"The Old Company to enjoy and bring home all their quick stock by the three years' end, and make the best they can of

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it, and of what cannot be brought over in that time, and divide among the Adventurers by the Trustees as it comes home.

"By what I have said already you will see I think the present Act of Parliament no good foundation to erect a lasting East India Company upon, that can withstand the craft and force of the Dutch or French in India; neither do I think the gentlemen entrusted with the New Company's affairs sufficient for such an undertaking, but you are a better judge of that than

"Honoured Sir,

"Your most humble Servant,

"Wanstead, "JOSIAH CHILD."

"22nd October, 1698."

In 1696, the pamphlet on the advantage of an exclusive Company which Thomas Papillon had issued in 1680, as mentioned in page 80, was reprinted anonymously "for the better satisfaction of himself and others," and the following curious letter was written by the editor to some friend, to whom he sent a copy:—

"To ———

"Sir, I present you with this edition of the following discourse, because I know the high esteem you have always expressed for Mr. ——— that worthy citizen, who from the beginning of the East India Company under Oliver to the year 1683 had a very considerable influence in it, when he was drove from this country for his great judgment and abilities in supporting the liberties of the nation.

"The Papists, under the avowed protection of the Duke of York having first used all their endeavours in the too usual manner to bribe, or blind his understanding,—And after the Revolution, when he returned, however personally he himself was ill-used, he still continued his endeavours to model a New East India Company. But the same means which prevailed against him in the reign of Charles II., equally succeeded in that of King William, and his best schemes were in a great measure defeated, though with sufficient credit to himself, he being twice chosen Member for the City on that interest, in favour of which this discourse was written: It contains many of his sentiments, which

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I hope you will not think inferior to many others, though the length of time has since produced a great number, &c., &c.

"I am,

"Your humble Servant,

"THE EDITOR."

Recurring to Papillon's earlier days in connection with the Directorate of the East India Company, the following letters will shew how single was his aim, what a horror he entertained of mean conduct, how little he sought prominence in the guidance of affairs; and how constantly present to his mind were the maxims of Holy writ.

Letter from Thomas Papillon to Mrs. ——— Wife of an Alderman, who had defamed him:—

"MADAM,

"Though you are little known to me, and I think myself as little known to you, yet for the vindication of myself, and in compliance to that Scripture in the 19th Leviticus verse 17, I am necessitated to the following lines.

"Madam, I do plainly understand that you have been pleased, publicly speaking of your son-in-law Mr. A.'s business, to say that all this hath been because he would not comply with Mr. Papillon; and that if he would have complied with me I would have brought him off for £2,000, or words to that effect. What your meaning was you best know; those that heard you do conclude your words implied, That I would have taken some bribe from Mr. A. to have betrayed the Company's interest; God, who searcheth the hearts, knows my integrity, to whom I can freely appeal from such suggestions: Indeed, I have often said to Mr. A. and to others that the work wherein I was engaged was not a work I delighted in, and that I should be glad to be freed from the employment; upon which account, among others, I did resolve to have waived being of the Committee this present year; not, Madam, that I thought the Company did any wrong to Mr. A., for that I do and cannot do otherwise than think (I may say know) and that from my own conscience, the contrary, and that the wrong was by him; whether intentionally or through

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mistake or inadvertency, God and his conscience best knows: I intend not herein to go about to excuse myself for prosecuting Mr. A.; what I have done therein I am fully satisfied needs it not; but if I should have been willing or desirous, or ever have made overtures to Mr. A. or any other for private advantage, to have brought him off for £2,000, yea or for some hundreds more than the Arbitrators have awarded, I should have therein been unjust and have acted contrary to my conscience, and this I confess had been an iniquity to be punished by the Judges, as Job speaks xxxi. 7—11. Madam, you have publicly charged me as guilty of such a crime; I beg no favour of you, or any in the world, in this matter; either make out your charge, or vindicate my repute: The first I am sure you cannot; the second I demand from you in justice, as you will answer it before God another day. It is not a slight thing in Scripture account, to take away another's good name, being an express breach of the Commandment. I am told you are one that make an eminent profession of Piety; let me prevail with you in your secret retirements between God and your own heart, to take a serious review of that Scripture in the 1st James 26, 'If any man among you seem to be religious and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, that man's religion is vain;' and of that in the 15th Psalm verse 3, where he that shall abide in God's tabernacle, and dwell in his holy hill, is described to be one 'that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour.' I do not know that I have ever spoke to you in my life, so that either your scandalous words of me, have been the imaginations and conjectures of your own heart, or have arisen from others' reports. If the first, can you without guilt assume God's throne, and pass sentence on another without better grounds than that it must be, because you think so? If the latter, is it not a taking up a reproach against, and your publishing it behind my back, a backbiting your neighbour? In like cases, Divines agree that there is no remission without restitution; which you may consider, and do as becoming a woman professing godliness.

"I rest,

"Your Friend and Servant,

"Sent 17th July, 1665." "T. PAPILLON."

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Letter of Thomas Papillon to Alderman ———

"To Alderman ———

"Sir,

"Enclosed I send you a letter for your Lady, occasioned from her public defaming of me: such an answer I shall expect by your means, as is just and Christianlike; so I rest, &c.,

"T. PAPILLON."

Letter from Thomas Papillon to Mr. A———

"Mr. A———

"Sir,

"I understand that you are at present visited with sickness; I heartily wish your recovery.

"Both you and I must ere long (and we know not how soon, especially in these sickly times*) by death be called to God's tribunal, to render an account of all our actions; Your mother-in-law, Mrs. ————, hath been pleased publicly to asperse me, as if I would have been bribed by you, and for private advantage, if you would have complied with me, I would have undertaken to have brought you off for £2,000; and that because you refused to comply with me, therefore I have prosecuted so much against you: God, and my own conscience, and you also know this to be abominably false: As you will answer for it before God, I require you to declare the truth in this thing.

"I am,

"Your Friend and Servant,

"THO. PAPILLON."

In conclusion, we may mention that during the progress of the Treaty of Breda, in 1667, Thomas Papillon was sent as one of a Deputation from the East India Company, to watch the course of proceedings. But his letters thence represent their presence as having proved of little use.

* The period of the Plague in London.

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The English Plenipotentiaries were bent on peace, and the Dutch were stiff in their terms. The island of Polerone, off Java, was not ceded, as the Company desired.

During the latter part of his absence, his Wife wrote to him as follows:—

"I have a promise from the Committee (Directors) that their letters shall be for your dismission, if the Ambassador will consent, which they say is as much as they can do; they all judge it reason. The Lord Bartlett came out to me, and bade me assure you he had not been wanting wherein he could serve you; they all think your desire reasonable. I am sure thou wilt be more welcome at home than ever thou hast been in Holland. But must '*the Ambassadors of peace return weeping?*'

"My suffering is augmented in thy absence, because the Company can be no gainers by it. . . . . I hear that you are well spoken of, for your carriage in order to peace.

The following prayers, compiled for the use of the Directors, Traders, Agents, Officers, and Seamen of the New East India Company, are interesting relics; they are taken from a printed copy in the British Museum Library.

"A Prayer for the Honourable English Company trading to the East Indies.—To be used on board their Ships.

"O Almighty and most merciful Lord God, Thou art the Sovereign Protector of all that trust in Thee, and the author of all spiritual and temporal blessings. Let Thy grace, we most humbly beseech Thee, be always present with the servants of *the English Company trading to the East Indies*. Compass them with thy favour as with a shield. Prosper them in all their public undertakings, and make them successful in all their affairs both by sea and land. Grant that they may prove a common blessing, by the increase of Honour, Wealth, and Power, to our Country, and to all mankind, by promoting the Holy Religion of our Lord

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Jesus Christ. Be more especially at this time favourable to us who are separated from all the world, and have our sole dependence upon Thee here in the great waters. Thou shewest thy wonders in the deep by commanding the winds and the seas as Thou pleasest, and Thou alone canst bring us into the haven where we would be. To thy mercy and power we therefore fly for refuge and protection from all the dangers of this long and perilous voyage. Guard us continually by thy good providence in every place.

"Preserve our relations and friends whom we have left, and at length bring us home to them in safety, and with the desired success. Grant that every one of us, being always mindful of thy fatherly goodness and tender compassion towards us, may glorify thy Name by a constant profession of the Christian Faith, and by a sober, just, and pious conversation through the remaining part of our lives. All this we beg for the sake of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee and the Blessed Spirit be ascribed all Honour, Praise, and Dominion both now and for evermore. Amen.

"December 2nd, 1691. We do conceive that this Prayer may be very proper to be used for the purpose expressed in the Title of it.

"THO. CANTUAR,
"H. LONDON."

"A Prayer for the Honourable English Company trading to the East Indies.—To be used in the Factories abroad.

"O Almighty and most merciful Lord God, Thou art the Sovereign Preserver of all that trust in Thee," &c., &c., "to our Native Country. Give to us and all thy servants whom thy providence has placed in these remote parts of the world grace to discharge our several duties with piety towards Thee our God, loyalty towards our King, fidelity and diligence towards them by whom we are employed, kindness and love towards one another, and sincere charity towards all men: That we adorning the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour in all things, these Indian Nations among whom we dwell, beholding our good works, may be won over

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thereby to the love of our most Holy Religion, and glorify Thee our Father which art in Heaven. All this we beg for the sake of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee and the ever blessed Spirit be ascribed all Honour, Praise and Dominion both now and evermore. Amen.

"December 2nd, 1698.
(As the former Prayer.)

"THO. CANTAUR,
"H. LONDON."

"A Prayer for the English Company," &c.—"To be used at Home."

"O Almighty and most merciful Lord God," &c., &c. [as the first Prayer to 'as with a shield.'] Direct their consultations and designs to the advancement of thy glory by a prudent and careful management of all their affairs, by a strict observance of justice and equity in their traffic, and a constant encouragement of Piety and all Christian virtues: That so, by thy blessing on their honest endeavours and public undertakings they may be successful both by sea and land to the Promoting of the Christian Religion, and the increase of the Honour, Wealth, and Power of this Nation. This we beg for the sake of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee and the blessed Spirit be ascribed all Honour, Praise, and Dominion both now and for evermore. Amen.

"December 2nd, 1698. &c., &c.

"THO. CANTAUR,
"H. LONDON."

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PHOTOGRAPHER, S. VICTOR WHITE, READING.

Acrise Place, Kent, 1848.

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CHAPTER VII.

PURCHASE OF ACRISE PLACE, KENT—BECOMES A CONTRACTOR FOR VICTUALLING THE ROYAL NAVY—AN AUDITOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON ACCOUNTS—AND TREASURER TO THE ADVENTURERS FOR EMPLOYING POOR FRENCH PROTESTANTS IN LINEN MANUFACTURE.

Papillon's probable motives in purchasing Acrise Place—its successive occupation by his descendants—Jane Papillon passes the summer there in 1668—her diligence, judgment, and economy in the repair and furnishing of her new house, and in attention to the farms, &c.—her general character—Papillon's desire that his Son should take good care of the property after his decease—In 1682 he holds a small Estate in Ireland—Legal hindrance to Sale of Estate of the Marquis of Antrim—Letter from Papillon to Dean Tillotson on behalf of the Rector of Acrise—Letter to the latter respecting his absence from public worship—Rev. J. Lewis, subsequent Rector, relative to Papillon's criticisms of his doctrine—Papillon's reply—Papillon's care for the suitable marriage of his Son—Death of his Son's Wife, *née* Anne Jolliffe—Papillon builds a vault in Acrise Church—its successive occupants, &c.—Acrise Place passes into the hands of the Mackinnon family—Ancestral tablet in the Church.

Papillon appointed a Member of the Council of the City of London—and one of the Auditors—his efforts in favour of order and economy—Also appointed Treasurer of the "Adventurers for employing poor French Protestants at Ipswich in the Manufacture of Linen"—List of the Adventurers—Report of the first general meeting, on 26th March, 1683—thanks to Papillon for his care as Treasurer, and request to retain office for another year, when Mr. Carbonnel consents to relieve him.

(Photograph of Report of Meeting, bearing Signatures of some of the more eminent of the Adventurers.)

N 1666, while busily engaged in mercantile affairs, Thomas Papillon purchased Acrise Place, Kent; and in a letter written soon after, his Wife alludes to it as his "good bargain." A year or two later he valued it at £5,000. He bought it of Mr. Robert Lewkenor, a relative, we presume, of Sir Lewis Lewkenor, who in 1613 was envoy to the Prince

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of Modena, and of Edward Lewkenor, Esq., who on his death-bed in 1556 sent a message to Queen Mary, imploring forgiveness and grace for his Wife and Children.*

Thomas Papillon may probably have been attracted to the spot by its neighbourhood to Godmersham, the seat of his brother-in-law—to Canterbury, the residence of his Wife's sister and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Turner—and to Dene House, near Wingham, the seat of his friend Sir Henry Oxenden, Bart., whose brother Sir George was Governor of Bombay. And it may have been agreeable to himself and his Wife to acquire the comfort of a country seat, a rural retreat for themselves and their children, though business, mercantile or political, seldom allowed him to enjoy it in person.

And here we may trace its occupation by subsequent generations of his family. His son and heir, Philip, who outlived him thirty-four years, appears to have dwelt chiefly in the paternal home in Fenchurch Street, a house with a large gateway near Billiter Street. His grandson David lived at Acrise from his marriage in 1717 to the time of his purchase of a house and grounds at Lee, Kent, about 1742, when he had been appointed a Commissioner of Excise at the instance of the great Lord Hardwicke, to whom in his youth his father had shown kindness. His great-grandson David, who by Lord Hardwicke's renewed efforts succeeded his father in office in 1754 and held it for thirty-six years, appears to have lived chiefly at Lee; and on the marriage of his eldest son Thomas, Captain and afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of the East Kent Militia, in 1791, he gave up to him the place and property at Acrise, and remained at Lee till his death in 1809, paying an annual visit to his

* See Appendix to Report III. of Historical M.SS. Commission, pp. 239, 264.

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son and family in the ancestral hall; travelling down and back in his chariot drawn by four black horses. Thomas lived there, with a short interval, till his death in 1838; and himself and his dear Wife and Children became much attached to the place. Each generation had been buried in the Parish Church, which is very near the house.

As a rural retreat, the site of Acrise is very complete; being ten miles from Dover, twelve from Canterbury, which was found most convenient for a post-town, seven from Hythe, and five from Folkestone, then only a small fishing town. The country about the place is very pretty, consisting of small ridges, well wooded, running generally N.E. and S.W. with occasional plateaux, the whole being on an undulating slope northward from the hills overlooking Folkstone and Shorncliffe; the views from Paddlesworth, Arpinge, and the hills just eastward of Ashley Wood and Beachborough, looking S.W. across Romney Marsh to Fairlight Downs, near Hastings, are indeed beautiful.

In 1668, Jane Papillon, with her Mother-in-law and Children, spent the whole summer at Acrise, reaching it on 23rd April, and not leaving it to return to London till late in October. Her husband often hoped to join them; at first he named a day in June, then in July, and then in August; but business of one sort or other always hindered, so that he paid only a few days' visit in September.

In August he had become a Contractor, in conjunction with Mr. Child of the East India Company, for Victualling the Royal Navy; and doubtless this post detained him in London.

His Wife's remarks on this engagement are worthy of record: on first hearing of it, she wrote on 31st August, as follows:—

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"I see thou hast resolved to undertake the Navy business; the Lord Almighty bless thee in it. It is no small comfort to me that by prayer I may approve myself a help to thee, when I can be so in nothing else. Now my God furnish thee with wisdom to govern thine affairs with discretion, deliver thee from the evil of any snare or temptation that may be in it, and neither in this nor in any other employment whatever suffer thee to wound conscience, or become the scorn of fools. My heart is with thee in our personal distance; and were I not conscious of my own incapacity to be any addition to thy delight or comfort by my company, I would a thousand times regret at my absence from thee," &c.

On the 8th September she wrote:—

"As to the Navy business, truly I judge it may be well not to cast it off, since Providence does so eminently fasten it on thee; but since thy last, conversing with our good Mother [*his* Mother] she says to me, 'What would he do if the Navy were employed against the Church of God?' This I thought to acquaint thee with; I am not fit to advise thee, but I earnestly beg the counsel of the all-wise God for thee. Our Mother told me my father and my uncle Burlamachi were employed in such an affair against Rochelle; and the Shipmaster Confrences not giving them leave, they left their ships and returned empty."

Truly his Mother's fears came to pass, for in June, 1672, when the nation had been unwittingly led into a naval war against the Protestant Dutch, and into close alliance with the rapacious and Popish King of France, Papillon was personally engaged in revictualling the fleet at the Nore, after one of its hard-fought engagements. Happily, he was soon enabled, in his place in Parliament, to join the majority in opposition to so base a policy.

During her six months' stay at Acrise, Jane Papillon found plenty to do in attending to the repair of the house and the supply of common household furniture, in putting

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the gardens and court into order, in gathering in the hay and corn harvests, in looking after a defaulting tenant, and in various other concerns attendant on a country place. She had no fixed steward, but was much aided by Mr. Gibbons, Mayor of Dover, who frequently visited her; and in return, she earnestly begged her husband to obtain for him a post in London. From a brother residing at one of the Judge's Chambers in Serjeants' Inn, he had heard of a Waitership in the Customs, which he might possibly obtain for three years through some lady, on payment of £50; should this fail, Jane Papillon begged her husband to seek some other berth for him. She was also advised by a neighbour, Mr. Forrester, concerning the farms.

She frequently reported to her husband the condition of affairs, and the steps she had taken to remedy the general disorder, assuring him at times that she was doing her very best to act as a faithful steward, and to spend no more than was absolutely requisite. She complained of the inactivity and indifference of the country workmen. She demanded few things from London; the first was a clock; and the next a good sounding bell, to call together the family. She conducted household worship morning and evening; and during harvest, when the reapers took their meals in the house, she lamented that she could never induce them to attend morning prayers, though they willingly came in the evening.

It is difficult, however, to describe her assiduity, her discretion, and her pious zeal. To understand them properly, the reader must refer to her numerous letters of this period in the Appendix; he will there see how the lady, the mother, the kind and sociable neighbour, the pious matron, and the careful housewife were all combined in her; and that the character drawn of her by the Rev. John Shower

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in his dedication of her Funeral Sermon, recorded in Chapter II., was not without due warrant.

In 1677, Thomas Papillon proposed to build a new house at Acrise, and obtained plans from an architect, but abandoned the idea as too expensive. Writing to his Wife from London, on 2nd July, he says:—

"I have received one from thee this day, which was very welcome, being the first I have had from thee since my coming hither; for I know not how to call it home in thy absence. Truly, my dear, methinks as Dr. Horton said on that text ('The winter is past, the rain is over and gone,') when we have so much freedom from hurrying employs, we should be more spiritual and improve our time. But alas! my dead and carnal heart and vain mind shew me that the excuse for want of time is vain, and the fault lies within. The Lord humble me and enable me to put forth acts of faith upon the Lord Jesus, to derive a spirit of life from Him, that I may more and more savour divine things. The passage of the Apostle in the 8th Romans, which he experienced, I desire and beg that I and all mine may really and experimentally feel made good in us, to wit, that the spirit of life in Christ Jesus may free me from the law of sin and death. The carnal mind is enmity to God, and yet this is the frame that too much takes hold on me; the Lord subdue it, and make me more heavenly, &c.

"Mrs. Jenny Floate went away on Saturday; she had with her a box of sugar, which I hope she will take care to convey to you. Yesternight, my son and cousin John supped with us on a cold breast of mutton and a salad; and this day Mr. Mayor and some Dover men dined with me. They had the ascendant of Serjeant Hardres at the trial; he came off very bluely, and in his own cause he hath not shewn himself so good a lawyer as the world thought him.* Mr. Woodstock hath made me a draft of the house; which is handsome, but I fear it will come

* Serjeant H. laid claim to the office of Steward—or permanent Counsel—to the Corporation of Dover, on the ground of long service and tacit agreement; but the Corporation resisted the claim, denying the existence of such an office, or such appointment of him. (See No. 2,120, Egerton M.SS., British Museum.)

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to too much money; I think it were not amiss if you sent for Nevett, and discoursed with him to know what he would take to repair it, putting in new timbers, and make it up just as it now is, and then putting tiles on the outside to secure it from the weather, which may serve our time very well; I suppose it may be done for £50, or not much more, &c. Sir James Oxenden is gone down this day.

"Thine, T. P."

Whether Thomas Papillon made any addition to the Acrise Estate does not appear from his M.SS., probably not much, for in 1684 he estimated the value at £6,000, an increase of only £1,000 after eighteen years' occupation; however, soon after his purchase of the place there was a prospect of the neighbouring manor of "Mount's Court" being for sale. In 1667, one year after he had bought Acrise, he took of his brother-in-law, Sir William Broadnax, seventy acres of land, with a farm-house on it, in Romney Marsh, and he afterwards bought some more of Sir William's son; he also bought some of Sir Bazil Dixwell, Bart., of Broome Park, Kent. In making his final Will in 1701, he left the whole of his real estate to his only son Philip, the properties in Kent and Leicestershire in remainder to his grandson, David Papillon, and his heirs; and his house in Fenchurch Street, absolutely. As regarded the Acrise property, he thus expressed himself:—

"And I do recommend to my said son Philip Papillon while he lives to keep the houses at Acrise in good repair, and to preserve the household stuff and utensils thereto belonging, that after his death the same may go to my grandson David Papillon if he be then living: And if it shall please God to bless my son Philip with any increase of his estate, I desire him to make addition to what is settled on and given by me after his death to my said grandson David, that the same may be not less, but rather more, than to any of his other children, he being the eldest.

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It appears that in 1681-4, Thomas Papillon held a small Estate in Ireland; and even in 1663, we find the copy of a letter from a lawyer there, but to whom addressed, or by whom copied, does not appear; setting forth the failure at law to establish a claim to the Estate of the Marquis of Antrim. It is in these words :—

"Ireland, August 22nd, 1663.

"EVER HONOURED SIR,

"Last Thursday we came to trial with my Lord Marquis of Antrim, but according to my fears (which you always surmised to be in vain) he was by the King's extraordinary and peremptory letter of favour restored to his estate as an Innocent Papist.

"We proved eight qualifications in the Act of Settlement against him, the least of which made him incapable of being restored as Innocent. We proved,—

"1.—That he was to have a hand in surprising the Castle of Dublin in the year 1641.

"2.—That he was of the Rebels' party before the 15th September, 1643, which we made appear by his hourly and frequent intercourse with Renny O'Moore and many others; being himself the most notorious of the said Rebels.

"3.—That he entered into the Roman Catholic confederacy before the peace in 1643.

"4.—That he constantly adhered to the Nuncio's party, in opposition to His Majesty's authority.

"5.—That he sat from time to time in the Supreme Council of Kilkenny.

"6.—That he signed that execrable oath of Association.

"7.—That he was commissioned and acted as Lieutenant General from the said Assembly of Kilkenny.

"8.—That he declared (by several letters of his own penning) himself in conjunction with Owen Ro O'Neale, and a constant opposer to the several peaces made by the Lord Lieutenant with the Irish.

"We were seven hours by the clock in proving our evidence against him; but at last, the King's letter being opened and read

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in Court, Rainsford, one of the Commissioners, told us, That the King's letter on his behalf was evidence without exception, and thereupon declared him to be an Innocent Papist.

"This cause, Sir, hath (though many reflections have passed upon the Commissioners before) more startled the judgment of all men than all the trials since the beginning of their sitting; and it is very strange and wonderful to all of the Long Robe that the King should give such a letter, having divested himself of that authority, and reposed the trust in the Commissioners for that purpose: And likewise it is admired that the Commissioners having taken solemn oaths to execute nothing but according to and in pursuance of the Acts of Settlement, should barely upon His Majesty's letter have declared the Marquis Innocent.

"To be short, there never was so great a Rebel had so much favour from so good a King; and it is very evident to me, though young and scarce yet brought on the stage, that the consequence of these things will be very bad; and if God of his extraordinary grace do not prevent it, war and (if possible) greater judgments cannot be far from us,—where vice is patronized, and Antrim, a Rebel upon record, and so lately proved one, should have no other colour for his actions but the King's own letter, which takes all imputations from Antrim and lays them totally upon his own father.

"Sir, I shall by the next, if possible, send you over one of our Briefs against my Lord by some friend; it is too large for a packet, being no less in bulk than a Book of Martyrs. I have no more at present, but refer you to the King's letter hereto annexed."

"The Royal letter was dated from 'Our Court at Whitehall, July 10th, in the 15th year of our reign, 1663,' and was addressed, 'To our Right Trusty and right entirely well beloved Cousin and Councillor James Duke of Ormond, our Lieutenant General and General Governor of our Kingdom of Ireland, and to the Lords of our Council of that Kingdom."

As regards the estate which Thomas Papillon held in Ireland in 1681-4, we find an autograph rough draft of Instructions to an Agent proceeding to it from England,

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by which it appears that the property was mainly in charge of Major Toogood, but the Agent was directed on landing at Dublin to find Mr. Joseph Fish, and also to consult with Mr. Thomas Cook. Thomas Papillon seems to have been very deficient of information respecting the property. Whether he had acquired it as a bad debt, or how, does not appear; and the draft of instructions bears no date. But in May, 1684, he received a letter, written from Dublin by Mr. William Hodson, enclosing a Bill on a Russian Merchant in London—Mr. Francis Pargiter—for £27 18s., equal to £30, less cost of exchange, for the two years' rent due in May, 1683. Mr. Hodson wrote thus:—

"Dublin, the 3rd May, 1684.

"SIR,

"My last was in answer to yours of the 8th January past; I have not heard from you since. The times are very sad with us here; half the cattle of the country are dead; starved with cold and want of fodder. Such a winter was never in the memory of man. Though the tenants are much put to it, yet I have made shift to remit you the two years' rent due last May, 1683," &c.

We find no further mention of the property; so no doubt Thomas Papillon parted with it.

While Thomas Papillon was careful for the due maintenance of his property at Acrise, he did not neglect the higher interests of its residents, and the credit of the Rector of the parish; soon after, however, justly acting as his censor; and as regarded a subsequent Incumbent, questioning the soundness of his doctrine. His letters on these points speak for themselves.

25th May, 16—. Copy of letter from Thomas Papillon to Dean Tillotson:—

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"REVEREND SIR,

"By a letter received last night from Acrise, in Kent, where my house is, I am informed that some complaint hath been made to the Lord Bishop of Peterborough (who, I am told, hath visited on behalf of his Grace the Lord Archbishop) that the cure of our parish hath been very much neglected, which is but too true, occasioned by some bodily indisposition of our Minister, Mr. ———. They now acquaint that Mr. ——— hath provided for the place to the full content and satisfaction of the Parishioners, and that they have Divine Service twice a day, and also preaching. The same is confirmed to me by my Wife, with a desire that I would signify so much by some means to his Grace the Lord Archbishop; lest upon the complaint made by the Bishop of Peterborough, any other way of supply should be thought of, which would now be unnecessary, the place being well provided for," &c.

Letter from Thomas Papillon to the Incumbent of Acrise, dated 23rd November, 16— :—

"Mr. ———

"The Apostle in the 10th of Hebrews having shewn the weakness and insufficiency of the legal sacrifices to remove and take away the guilt of sin, and the fulness and all-sufficiency of the sacrifice of the Lord Jesus, who by one offering hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified, whereof the Holy Ghost bears witness in that new and better Covenant—as it is said the Covenant of Grace in that God promiseth to write His law in our hearts, and to remember our sins no more—proceeds in the 19th verse to improve the privilege purchased by Christ and to draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, &c., which drawing near seems to me by the following words to be a drawing nigh to God in the public administrations of Gospel ordinances, and public owning of the faith we profess thereby, as in verses 23-4-5; and he requires not only every particular person to this duty, but lays an injunction that we should consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works, not forsaking the assembling of ourselves (as the manner of some is) but exhorting one another, and so much the rather, or the more, as ye see the day approach-

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ing. What that day is, which the Apostle means in this place, I will not positively determine. Whether the day of general judgment, or of every one's particular death and judgment, or the day of persecution and taking away the liberty of Christians in the free enjoyment of Gospel ordinances by the Heathen Emperors, or by the Man of Sin that was to be revealed,—however it be, there are dreadful judgments denounced in the following part of the chapter against such as slight or neglect the Grace of God tendered in the Covenant in Christ. From the consideration hereof I am induced to write you these few lines; and as the Apostle II. Cor. v. 11.,—knowing the terror of the Lord, to persuade you,—

"I was to have seen you yesterday, and to have discoursed you, but did not meet you at home; therefore to supply that, I send you these few lines, which I hope you will consider; and I humbly beg that God by His Spirit would make them profitable to you.

"You have preached the truths of Christ to others; you have told us that it was our duty to attend upon God in the administration of Gospel ordinances, both Word, prayer, and Sacraments,—and how is it that when the door of God's house is open and His ordinances duly administered you are engaged in walking the fields or lying in bed. Is not this a forsaking your own mercies? an undervaluing the institutions of Jesus Christ, as if they were useless and unnecessary? May it not be an occasion for others to slight coming to Church, and attending on the Word and Sacraments, when they see you a Minister thus to do? What can you say? What will you plead when God shall call you to an account? It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God; oh, therefore call to remembrance the former. Do not give place to the Devil. Are you well enough to walk in the fields, and are you not well enough to walk to God's house? You are not well enough to exercise the function of a Minister as formerly; but are you not to worship, serve, and glorify God as you are able? Are you so proud that because you are not in a capacity at present to be a teacher of Christian truths, that therefore you will not be a hearer and learner? Are you under trouble for sins past? Where can you

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expect to meet with ease, but by applying to God in Christ in His own institutions? I will hear, saith David, what the Lord will speak, for He will speak peace, &c. Are you under temporal trouble and affliction? Where can you find comfort but in God's sanctuary? David experienced that one day in God's courts was better than a thousand elsewhere. Will you give David the lie, and say he was mistaken,—'It is better to walk in the fields or lie abed?'

"Oh Sir, pardon me if I am free with you; it is out of love and compassion for your soul: I desire you seriously to read and ponder the 10th Chapter of Hebrews, in which there is mercy and judgment; mercy for the full remission of all our sins, and obtaining grace through the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ assured to the believing soul by the Covenant of God, who cannot lie; judgment against all that slight and neglect this grace, for 'Vengeance is mine' saith the Lord, 'I will repay:' I hope I may say, as the Apostle in another place, 'I am persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though I thus speak.'

"The next Lord's day the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is to be administered. You have been long wandering from God's ways; oh, why should you not come to renew your Covenant with God, to obtain a sense of God's love in Christ, to overcome your temptations—to enable you to do your duty? Can you overcome the evil one by your own power? No, surely: Be not deceived; if Christ don't strengthen you, the Devil will be too hard for you. Can you expect strength from Christ if you will not come to Him for it in the way that He hath appointed—the way of His ordinances? Oh, come Sir; God invites you, hath prepared a feast for you. Make no vain and idle excuses; come, and the Lord will fill you with joy and peace in believing.

"Sir, as I have invited you to God's house, so give me leave to invite you to my own, where you shall be kindly welcome at any time. I am returning to London after the next Lord's day, and therefore should be glad to see you before that time. The Lord be with you. Amen.

"Your loving Friend,

"THO. PAPILLON."

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Letter from Rev. J. Lewis, Incumbent of Acrise, to Thomas Papillon:—

"HONOURED SIR,

"Your question, occasioned I presume by a passage in my sermon, Whether Christ put us only in a capacity of Salvation; I've often thought of since, and am afraid I did not answer it distinctly enough.

"By it I only meant that by Christ salvation was not so purchased as to be absolutely conferred on us without any condition on our parts to be fulfilled. For that Christ is styled the Mediator and Surety of a Covenant made betwixt God and us, which implies conditions on our part to do, as well as favours on God's part to bestow: though, at the same time, as a Christian I own that as I am unable of myself to perform any of these established conditions of Salvation, as Faith, Repentance, and new obedience, so I ought to depend and pray for the supernatural power, whereby we are first excited to goodness, and afterwards assisted in it.

"I crave leave to return my humble thanks for the many civilities I received from you when in Town. I hope you will pardon this trouble from,

"Honoured Sir,

"Your most obliged and humble Servant,

"Acryse. "J. LEWIS."

[REPLY TO ABOVE BY THOMAS PAPILLON.]

"REVEREND SIR,

"I received your letter without date, which I suppose was about the beginning of this month, March, $1\frac{699}{700}$. You therein exercise the grace of humility in endeavouring to satisfy me touching the question I proposed to you, for which I return you thanks, and take it as an evidence of the grace of God in you, which I pray God to increase. You did rightly presume that my question was occasioned by a passage in your sermon, and I am glad that you have often since thought on't, and desire you to think more and more thereon, and earnestly to beg of God His Spirit clearly and savingly to enlighten you in the knowledge of His truth.

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"I shall not take upon me the nice distinctions that possibly are used by Divines concerning conditions and qualifications. But I firmly believe that the Lord Jesus Christ hath purchased and merited Salvation for all the elect, and that whatever any of God's children may be enabled to do in a way of duty, cannot merit any thing; and I think it would be sinful for any to join their own work with Christ's. He only ought to have the glory of our redemption and Salvation, which you, as a Minister of Christ, are bound to publish and set forth. And I doubt not but you will endeavour to do your utmost therein, that you may receive the reward at last of, 'Well done, good and faithful servant,' &c.

"Your very affectionate Friend and Servant,

"THO. PAPILLON."

"11th March, $1\frac{699}{700}$."

Mention has been made of the care which Thomas Papillon evinced in his Will for the due descent of his Acrise property. He had previously taken much pains for the suitable marriage of his son, promoting his suit as far as possible.

His son's wife—Anne Jolliffe—died alas, within three-and-half years of their marriage, on the birth of her third child; and her father-in-law then constructed a large vault in Acrise Church, whither he caused her remains, and those of her infant, who died on the same day, to be removed from London.

In this vault no less than six young children of Thomas Papillon's youngest daughter, Anne Marie [Turner] of Canterbury, were buried. Also his wife, himself, and their descendants to the fourth generation. Thomas Papillon, the inheritor of Acrise of the fifth generation, built a new vault, in which were buried several of his children, himself, and his dear wife, Ann [Pelham]; and finally in 1856, his daughter Frances, of pious memory, aged sixty; her

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remains occupying the last niche. And in less than five years afterwards the property passed away from the family.*

(The Author rejoices to know that the present owner, William Alexander Mackinnon, Esq., and his family take much interest in the place.)

The Author may be further excused, he hopes, for mentioning a marble tablet, still in the Parish Church, which was placed there by Thomas Papillon's grandson David, bearing the following inscription:—

"H. J.,
Ex gente Papillonum,
Ab avis, atavisque longè,
Clarâ Pietate,
In Deum, Patriam, et suos,
Assiduâ, forti, purâ,
Æmulentur Posteri.
(Sic vovet David Papillon nepos.)"

[TRANSLATION.]

"Sons of Papillon race beneath do lie,
A race renowned for famous ancestry;
In love to God, to Country, and to Kin,
For ever constant, brave, averse to sin:
May children yet unborn these virtues share:
David Papillon thus records his prayer."

Papillon's acquisition of Acrise, and subsequently of a seat in Parliament, tended not to damp his ardour in promoting the public interests with which he was connected; he sought not yet the "otium cum dignitate," but was bent on exerting himself commercially, civically,

* The advantages and disadvantages of country-seats, in a moral, social, and educational point of view, is a subject worthy of consideration.

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or politically as occasion required; industry and rectitude were vital traits in his character, and they brought their sure reward. Albeit he suffered at times, meanwhile.

Thus in a family memorandum it is said:—

"In 1672, 3, 5, 6, 7, 80, 81, he was of Common Council [of London] and Auditor of the City Accounts, and himself drew all their Reports, as to the Chamber, Bridge-house, and Gresham College, *vide* the part of his Accounts too of the Waters and Aqueducts—the disputes of the proportion of the taxes, and whether the Commissioners of Customs should be taxed—were of his management."

Autograph M.SS. remain on two of these subjects, viz., the Bridge-house Service, and the General State of the Finances of the City.

On the first of these subjects is a Table shewing precisely the respective duties and emoluments of the various Officers, Bridgemasters, the Clerk Comptroller, the Master Mason, the Master Tide Carpenter, the Shootsman, the Purveyor, and the Porter; and in connection with this table is a series of suggestions, drawn up "*in order of perfecting the Table*," the main object of which was evidently to suppress all indefinite perquisites and to replace them by specific awards.

No date is affixed to this Table and list of suggestions, but it is presumed they were prepared soon after he took office as Auditor; it being probable that he would first master the details of the accounts.

A Report on the General State of the City Accounts under date 12th June, 1674, appears in the following autograph M.S.:—

"At the Audit of the Chamber Accounts for the City of London, at Guildhall, the 12th June, 1674,

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"The Auditors do humbly offer to the consideration of the Right Honourable The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council,

"That in regard of the present state of the City, all possible care may be taken, that may consist with the honour of the City, both to increase their revenue and diminish their expences and to avoid all unnecessary ones.

"That in regard it hath not been an Ancient Custom of the City to provide a Sermon for the Lord Mayor in the afternoon, but that his Lordship hath usually given countenance by his presence to the Minister of the parish where he resides. That his Lordship may be desired to do so in future, and that the allowance for an afternoon Sermon to Dr. Hitchcoat, set on foot by reason of the necessity brought on by the Fire for want of Churches, may not be continued, the necessity being now through God's mercy removed; and that the said Doctor may have notice thereof, that he may expect no more from the City, but apply to the parish for his maintenance.

"That a Committee may be appointed to examine the Tolls above and below Bridge wherein Dr. Carpenter is concerned, That the City's right may be preserved, and the charge supplied without an annual allowance from the Chamber.

"That consideration may be had of the Aqueducts, to find out how the charge accruing thereon may be maintained, and the City's rights preserved.

"That whereas we find several sums paid out of the Chamber for work and other matters, which ought to be borne and paid out of the Coal Account, Mr. Chamberlain be required to examine all that hath been so paid, and to charge the same on the Coal Account with the interest that the City hath paid thereon.*

"That whereas James Cole, Clerk of the Commissioners of Sewers, hath received £100 per annum out of the Chamber, The same may be inspected into, and if it be a due to him,

* No doubt an account relating to the rebuilding and improvement of the City of London after the Great Fire, in support of which a *duty on Coals* was first levied.

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that it may be paid to him by the said Commissioners, and not be laid as a perpetual charge on the Chamber.

"We find that the Marshalls receive a great sum of money for to look after the Vagrants and Beggars, and yet there is a great complaint of their neglect in their duty, which we offer to your Honours' consideration to take care in.

"We find that far greater sums have been of late disbursed for charge of keeping the Courts of Conservancy than the £300 your Honours have appointed, which we could not pass, but make exception thereof on signing the Account; wherefore we offer it to your consideration that such sum may be settled for the same thing as may consist with the honour of the City, and that it be not exceeded.

"We find £4,642 10s. 0d. owing by several for fines of Aldermen and Sheriffs, some of which may be desperate, and others, if due care be taken to prosecute, may be recovered. Whereof we offer it to consideration that an inspection may be made thereof, and such as be desperate may by order of this Court be discharged, and the others prosecuted to effect. As also that a Committee be appointed to inspect all the other debts owing to the City, to the end that such may be discharged, and the others effectually prosecuted.

"The Auditor having made a motion to us, That he might have the same allowance of £50 per annum as he had in times past, in regard his business is greater than formerly. We humbly offer the same to our humble opinion that he may deserve your favour therein during the pleasure of the Court.

"This paper was signed by Sir Thomas Allen, Sir George Waterman, Sir Robert Handson, Sir Joseph Sheldon, Sir Robert Jeffries, Squire Lane, and Thomas Papillon, and left in the hands of Sir Thomas Allen, the 12th June, 1674."

How far the proposals of Thomas Papillon and his colleagues were adopted does not appear, but from the two following statements in Papillon's handwriting, it is clear that the general expenditure was continually exceeding the income:—

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"THE GENERAL STATE OF THE CITY ACCOUNTS AT MICHAELMAS, 1676.

THE CITY OWES	£	s.	d.	THERE IS OWING TO THE CITY	£	s.	d.
To Orphans.....	428,404	18	10½	Arrears by outstanding persons.....	144,861	1	6½
Money at Interest ...	126,207	17	5	In Cash	32,053	3	6½
To the Bridge Account	14,384	3	4	Balance	392,082	14	6½
	£568,996	19	7½		£568,996	19	7½

"By the Account above it appears that the City is indebted £392,082 14s. 6½d. more than what is owing to them, and if it be considered that a great part if not most of the £144,861 1s. 6½d. above-mentioned is desperate and never to be recovered, it will be found that the debt of the City beyond what they may recover of the arrears owing to them will be upwards of 500 Thousand pounds.

"Note that in anno 1672 the City's debt on the balance of the General Account was but £281,111 6s. 3½d.; now in anno 1676, it is £392,082 14s. 6½d.; whence it appears that in four years' time the City's debt is increased on them £110,971 8s. 2¾d. which is upwards of 27,000 every year, one year with another. The last year, 1676, the debt was augmented above what it was the year before, £28,553; and if it should continue to go on thus, it is evident that the consequence would be ruinous and destructive.

"Anno		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1672	Balance of City's debt	281,111	6	3½				
1673	Ditto	302,702	7	5¼	Increase in 1 year	21,591	1	1¾
1675	Ditto	365,928	6	10¼	Ditto 2 years	63,255	19	5
1676	Ditto	392,082	14	6¼	Ditto 1 year	26,154	7	8
					The City's debt is increased in four years	£110,971	8	2¾

The above paper is docketed thus:—

"31st May, 1677. The General State of the City's Accounts presented to the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Davis."

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The remaining document on the subject is docketed thus:—

"31st May, 1677. Copy of the Auditors' Representation to Lord and Aldermen of the City of London."

"The Auditors of the City humbly Represent,

"That notwithstanding of late years several Representations have been made by their Predecessors yet they still find the City on every Audit to go more and more behind hand, a true state whereof they shall at any time be ready to impart to such Committee as your Honours shall appoint; and in discharge of their duty to the City, and to your Honours the fathers thereof, they crave leave in all humility to declare unto you their fears and apprehensions, That (unless some effectual course be speedily taken and put in practice to lessen the charge, and to find out some other means and methods for raising money to defray the same) the charge every year so much surpassing the receipt will in a little time augment the City debit to that proportion that it may be unretrievable; what the consequences may be thereupon they cannot say, but that it may not be at their doors (and they hope it never shall at your Honours') They earnestly beseech your Honours without delay to consider thereof, and to apply such suitable remedies to prevent them, and to uphold the honour and credit of the City, as in your wisdom shall be found most proper.

"THO. PAPILLON,
"THO. PILKINGTON,
"THO. HEATLEY,
"31st May, 1667. "JOHN DU BOIS."

Some years later, another instance of willing service on Papillon's part was the treasurership of the "*Adventurers in the stock raised for setting poor French Protestants to work at Ipswich in the Linen Manufacture.*"

It appears that the undertaking was begun early in 1681, and was supported by nearly seventy Adventurers,

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who subscribed for amounts varying from £5 to £80; some of them spreading their subscriptions over a period of three or four years.

At a General Meeting held on 26th March, 1683, the amount of subscriptions still due—being rather more than half—was £1,148 15s.; and while the purpose in hand had been accomplished, of usefully employing the Refugees, the business was still *unremunerative*, in the common acceptation of the term.

The detailed balance sheet presented by the Treasurer on the occasion, gives the following list of Adventurers, from whom part of their respective subscriptions was still due. And the annexed photograph of the Report of the General Meeting gives the autograph signatures of some of the more eminent among them. The first part is in the handwriting of Thomas Papillon; the latter part, containing the verdict of the meeting on his balance sheet, he left to others to transcribe.

List of Adventurers owing one-half or more of their respective subscriptions on the 28th February, 1683:—

Sir John Moore (late Lord Mayor)
Henry, Lord Bishop of London
Sir Josiah Child
Sir Joseph Ashe
Sir John Lawrance
Sir Robert Clayton
John Morden
Edward Stillingfleet (Dean of St. Paul's)
Joseph Herne
Sir James Edwards
Sir Patience Ward
Thomas Papillon
George Earl of Berkeley
Sir Henry Johnson
Peter Barr
Peter Heringhooke
Peter Kesterman
Isaac de Vinck
Sir John Fredrick
Sir Robert Viner
William Carbonnel
Alderman Henry Cornish
John Drigné

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Present
The Earle of Berkly
The L^d B^p of London.
S^r John Moore.
Sir Roger Lock
S^r James Cranden.
M^r Dean of Cant.
M^r Du Bois.
M^r Firmen.
M^r W^m Cardonnel.

At a Generall meeting of the Adventurers in the Stock raised for setting the Poore french Protestants on worke at Ipswich on the Linnen Manufacture at Mercers hall the 26^th Day of March 1683

The Bookes kept for this Stock were Produced by M^r Papillon, as alsoe a Ballance of them And the Account of Cash both of Receipts & payments By the Treasurer audited by M^r Gerard Vanhay thuysen M^r James Wilkinson & M^r William Cardinal appointed Auditors at a generall meeting the 2^d of Octob^r Last By which it appeared ther was Remayning in Cash the 28^th February Last Twenty two pounds eight shillings and three pence halfe penny and that ther was then 86 peices of the Ufeholland & 95 peices of Brittaine Linnen in Custody of M^r Papillon Beeing all the Linnen Cloth sent from Ipswich to this day estimated according to the cost at Sixhundred and fourteene pounds two shillings and two pence threefarthings besides yarne flaxe and other necessary's Remayning at Ipswich as in s^d Bookes and the Ballance thereof appeares.

The Adventurers did approve of the said Ballance and Accounts, and with Returns of thanks to M^r Papillon for his great Charity, care & paines hee had taken in this affair, hee was desired to continue the Charge of Treasurer for the Year Ensuing, which Upon M^r Cardonnel's promise to take it off his hands the Year following) hee accepted; and is hereby Empowered to receive a third quarter part of Every Ones Subscription (which was now agreed, & Ordered to be forthwith paid to M^r Papillon And to issue out the Same for Carrying on of the Service by warrant under the hands of any five, or more of the Trustees nominated & appointed by the Order of the ninth of February 168½

W^m Richard
Jo. Tillotson
W^m Cardonnel
Roger Lock
John du Bois
Tho Firmin
Jam Jacob Hollister
Peter Papillon

BERKELEY
H. London
Jo. Lawrence
John Moore
James Cranden
J. Stirling Dean
Gerard van Heythuysen

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Abraham Stibert
James de New
John Willaw
Daniel du Prie
Peter Hashaw
David Primrose
Benjamin de Jeune
Christopher le Thuillier
Moses Coulon
Peter Renew
David Coquard
Peter Delmé
Isaac and Jacob de Lillers
Samuel de Thuillier
Herman Olmius
John Tavernier
John Blondel
Gerard Vanhuythussen
Francis Tyssen
James Williamson
Nathanael Letten
John Pollexfen
Dr. John Tillotson (Dean of Canterbury)
Sir William Turner
George Dashwood
William Sedgwick
Roger Lock
John Houblon
Charles Thorold
Abraham Dolius
John and Thomas Lane
Jacob Lucy
Sir William Pritchard (Lord Mayor)
Thomas Sheppeard
Isaac Jurin
Humphrey Edwin
John Gray
Peter Houblon
James Houblon
Nathanael Tench
John Cudworth
Edward Rudge
John Paige
Sir James Oxenden

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CHAPTER VIII.

ELECTION TO PARLIAMENT, AND CAREER AS MEMBER.

Political condition of Dover, *temp.* Charles II.—Enforcement of Conventicle Act—Attempt to suppress due Election of Mayor—Vacancy in the representation of Dover in Parliament—Sir Edward Sprague and Thomas Papillon Candidates—action of Mayor and Town Council in favour of Sprague, who is returned by the Mayor—but Papillon petitions—and the House of Commons decides in his favour—Death meanwhile of Sir Edward Sprague—Re-election of Papillon in 1679—Origin of the privileges of the Cinque Ports—attempt to infringe on their popular rights—Condition of Politics in general on Papillon's Election—He opposes the Government on a Grant for the Navy, 1679—He demands further information as to Treaties, before voting supplies, 1678—He opposes the imposition of Passes from the Admiralty to ensure the protection of Merchantmen, 1676—He strongly opposes the renewal of Act prohibiting the importation into England of Cattle and other Farm produce from Ireland, 1672—Speech of Papillon on his re-election—address to the Electors—Election Expenses.

Conditions of the new Parliament—The Popish Plot—Charge against Williamson, Secretary of State, for granting Commissions in the Army to Roman Catholics—Papillon joins in vote for committing him to the Tower—Petitioners and Abhorrers—Sir Francis Wythens expelled the House for promoting an Abhorring Protest in the Grand Jury of Westminster—Papillon supports the step—He presents a Petition to the Lord Mayor in favour of frequent assembly of Parliament, &c.—Expulsion from the House of Sir Robert Peyton—Papillon refuses to support it—Unjust apprehension of Peter Norris—Papillon inveighs against it—General remarks on Papillon's conduct in the Parliament of Charles II.

THOMAS Papillon's first election to Parliament occurred not quite thirteen years after the Restoration. The Civil War and the era of the Commonwealth had created strong political feelings throughout the land. Many who had heartily welcomed the return of Charles II. strongly reprobated the corruption of the Court and Government, but others as warmly supported them.

Dover supplied its quota on either side; and local feelings added fuel to the flame.

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For many years Patrician and Plebeian had contended for Municipal honours and privileges; and latterly, "Church" and "Dissent" had increased the divisions and animosities.

Two instances of such contentions occurred in 1670.

The first is the subject of the following letter from James, Duke of York, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to his Deputy, the Lieut. Governor of Dover Castle:—

"His Majesty having been informed in Council of divers Conventicles and unlawful meetings frequently kept and held in the town of Dover, and the remissness of the Magistrates in suppressing the same, and punishing the offenders according to the Act of Parliament, to the contempt of his Majesty's laws, and encouragement to others to offend in the like case, did think fit (for redress thereof) in Council to order that Richard Matson, late Mayor of Dover, Edward Dell, Samuel Taverner, Nathaniel Borrey, Symon Yorke, and Anthony Street should appear at the Council Board, to answer the Premises; who accordingly appearing, and being severally heard, and reproved for their misdemeanours, his Majesty was pleased by his Order, sitting in Council, dated 13th instant, to authorise me to give speedy and effectual Orders to shut up (in the said town of Dover) all such houses as lately have, are, or shall, be made use of, for the meeting of persons disaffected to the Government by Law established, under pretence of religious worship, so as no assembly be from henceforth kept therein, as also to give directions for the pulling down all Pulpits, Couches, and other seats as shall be found placed in such houses for the conveniency of Conventiclers, and particularly the Pulpits and seats in the house of the above-named Samuel Taverner, or any other; as also to cause the Laws made against unlawful meetings, as well as the Act made at Oxford, as the Act lately made against Conventicles, to be put in full and due execution against all persons who have or shall hereafter offend in any matter contained in the said Acts or either of them:

"I do therefore desire that you will immediately give strict and effectual orders to the Magistrates of Dover to cause all

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the particulars of his Majesty's said Order in Council of the 13th of this instant January to be punctually observed, performed, and duly executed according to the terms of the said Order.

"I am, your loving Friend,

"Whitehall, "JAMES."

"21st January, 1670,

"To Colonel John Strode,
Lieutenant of Dover Castle."

Rev. John Lyon, Vicar of St. Mary's, Dover, in his History of Dover, published in 1813, refers with much regret to the persecution of Samuel Taverner, whom he mentions as having been a truly pious man, and formerly Captain of a Troop of Horse.

The second instance occurred at the Annual Election of Mayor, and the case is set forth in an Order of the King in Council dated 20th September, 1670, giving judgment on an appeal against the conduct of the election to the office of Mayor, and these are the facts adduced.

In 1578, at the instance of the Lords and others of Her Majesty's Privy Council, an Order was made by the Common Council of Dover that the Annual Election of Mayor should take place on the 8th September, when between eight and ten a.m., the Mayor and Jurats should meet in the Guildhall, and select the old Mayor and four Jurats as candidates for the new Mayoralty, and that at two p.m., the five names should be submitted by the Town Clerk to the Freemen, so that the latter might elect. This practice was maintained till 1644, when the Common Council threw open the nomination of Jurats as candidates to the Freemen at large; in 1664 the Common Council by another Decree reverted to the Order of 1578; and in 1667 they again reverted to that of 1644:

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But in 1670, as the Order of the King in Council sets forth :—

"The Mayor, calling a Common Council, did (as it is alleged) to prevent differences which might arise about the Election, two persons contending for the same, on the said 8th September, in the morning make void to the said last Decree for a General Election, and confirmed again the former practice pursuant to the first Decree of the year 1578, and according to the Mayor and four Jurats made choice of the said John Carlile to be Mayor, who had 39 voices for him, and was one of the four named with the old Mayor.

"On the contrary, the Counsel on behalf of the said Richard Barly [who was nominated by the Freemen] alleged that the disannulling of the former Order of the year 1667, and ever since practised, was irregularly done, and by surprise and design the very morning of the day of Election, and that there were not a full number to make up a Common Council, inferring from thence that the Freemen had legally proceeded and made choice of the said Richard Barly to be Mayor, who had 113 voices, whereas the said John Carlile had but 39.

"Both parties having been duly heard, and We (well approving of the rule prescribed by the Decree of the 20th Queen Elizabeth as tending to the peace and quiet of that place in the Election of Mayor) have thought good with the advice of Our Privy Council, hereby to declare Our Pleasure, and accordingly Our Will and Pleasure is, That the last Decree of Common Council touching the manner and right of Electing a Mayor yearly for that Corporation shall stand and be established so far as the same agrees with the Decree of Council of the 20th year of Queen Elizabeth, which we do hereby appoint to be observed as a constant Rule in the Election of all the Mayors there in the future; and to the end that no complaint may remain upon any pretence of surprise in the late proceedings, Our farther Will and Pleasure is, That the said late Election of the said John Carlile by you, as likewise of the said Richard Barly by the Freemen, to be Mayor of the said town of Dover, shall both be null and void, and that you, John Matson (the Mayor as yet) and the Jurats are required speedily to meet and appoint

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a day for the Election of a New Mayor in such manner and form as is prescribed by the late Decree of Council pursuant to that of the year 1578, and to nominate the said Richard Barly (being already a Jurat) to be one of the four Jurats who together with the said John Matson are to be presented in order to the Election of a New Mayor for the succeeding year.

"Whereof you may not fail, for which these Letters shall be your Warrant, and so We bid you farewell.

"Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 20th September, 1670,

"By his Majesty's command,

"To "ARLINGTON."

"Our trusty and well-beloved
John Matson the Mayor as yet of
Our town of Dover, and the Jurats
and Common Council there."

(The result was the election of Richard Barly in 1670 and 1671.)

Such was the Borough which called Thomas Papillon to a seat in Parliament. Before inviting him to become a candidate, the Liberal electors had doubtless heard of his successful efforts to resist unjust demands from the Customs and Excise; of the active part he had taken as a Director of the East India Company; and of his general prosperity in business, and therefore deemed him well suited to promote their cause; his recent purchase of Acrise Place probably also had some influence in their choice.

He was elected in February, 1673; the vacancy occurred through the succession to the Peerage, as Earl of Sandwich, of the former member, Lord Hinchinbrook.

Parliament was not sitting at the time, having been prorogued in 1671, and not re-opened for business till 4th February, 1673.

Writs had meanwhile been issued by the Lord Chancellor

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for many vacant seats; the Government, it was supposed, hoping to profit by the step. But on the re-assembly of Parliament the House of Commons at once resented this invasion of their rights, declared the seats to be still vacant, and ordered the issue of new writs; this occurred on the 6th February: on the 11th, however, a return was made from Dover, declaring Sir Edward Sprague, and not Thomas Papillon, to have been elected.

The course of the election is well described in the following letter from Thomas Papillon to his Wife, written on its eve; and in the "case" for petition afterwards submitted to the House:—

"My Dear,

"Since my last I have little to inform you of but the strange and undue manner of carriage here, sending from person to person, and threatening them if they will not give their vote for Sir E——— S———*; and yesterday the Mayor sent for all the Pilots, and told them what a man Sir E. S. was, and that they should vote for him: Two of them were, it seems, resolved for me; one that went declared that he could not vote for Sir S. E., and the other did not come, for whom they immediately sent a Warrant to take and carry aboard a ship in the Roads, that he might be absent at the Election.

"This day they have appointed a Common Council on design to make new Freemen, to serve their purpose; and as I am informed they intend the Election to-morrow. The Lord direct all for His glory, and give me wisdom and courage, that I may carry it like a Christian, and not be afraid of man.

"Sir Henry Oxenden and Bro. Turner are pleased to bear me company.

"I desire to be affected with the goodness of God in preserving thee and our family in the time of the late Fire, and to be abased under God's mighty hand, Who is yet pleased to contend

* Admiral Sir Edward Sprague, the "Court Party" candidate. and thus the rival of Thomas Papillon, the "Country Party" candidate.

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with us by fire; His anger is not turned away, but His wrath is stretched out still: Oh, that we could see His hand and return to Him, that judgment may be prevented.

"I have nothing to write to Mr. Harrison,* but pray remember me kindly to him; and present my duty to my Mother, and tell her I need her prayers for God's presence and assistance in this affair. My love to all my little ones, and present my respects to Sir James Oxenden and to all my friends.

"Thine in all endeared affections,

"THO. PAPILLON."

"Dover, this 31st January, $\frac{78}{79}$."

According to "*The Case of Thomas Papillon, relating to his Election at Dover*, it appears:—

"I.—That the Election lay with the Freemen of the Borough; and such only were: 1—Those who had served seven years' apprenticeship, and were enrolled. 2—The sons and sons-in-law of Freemen. 3—Freeholders of £5 a year. 4—Those who purchased their Freedom by payment of £10.

"II.—That the Mayor by threats endeavoured to secure votes for Sprague, but finding that Papillon would have the majority he hastily summoned a Town Council, forcibly excluding some members, and in order to make new Freemen who would vote for Sprague, he proposed the immediate repeal of the £10 purchase Bye-law; and although some of the Jurats present objected, and desired to be heard on the matter, he would not allow it; the proposal was adopted; fifty-two men, pledged to vote for Sir Edward Sprague were admitted as Freemen, and others who applied, and brought the £10 purchase-money were rejected. And the Mayor appointed the following morning, 1st February, 1673, for the Poll. In such haste were things done, that the need of Repeal of a prior Bye-law requiring only £5 purchase-money, was quite forgotten.

"III.—The day of Election on the second Writ was the 11th February, 1673. Papillon protested against the illegal admission

* His head clerk.

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of the *quasi* New Freemen, but the Mayor replied that he would justify them as Freemen, and take that upon himself.

"The old and legal Freemen were then called over, and voted: For Papillon, 137; for Sprague, 106. Whereupon the Mayor was requested to declare the Election, but he refused to do so, and proceeded to call over the new-made Freemen.

"The first of them being called, the people called out, 'No faggots, no faggots, Mr. Papillon is fairly chosen.' Upon this, soldiers were threatened to be sent for, if the Mayor would not go on; and the Mayor was obliged to call over the fifty-two persons, of whom forty-seven appeared and unanimously voted for Sir Edward Sprague.

"This made his votes 153, whereupon the Mayor declared him Burgess, and made his Return, refusing to return Papillon though in truth he had thirty-one votes of the legal Freemen more than Sprague.

"Finally, £300 was promised to the town by Sir E. Sprague, or some one on his behalf, provided he were elected."

Before Papillon's petition could be presented, poor Sprague had fallen in the hard-fought action off the Texel on the 11th August, 1673. As usual, his antagonist was the able and gallant Van Tromp; and after guiding his squadron, first from the "Royal Prince," and when she was disabled, from the "St. George;" he was again shifting his flag for renewed efforts, when a shot sunk this boat, and he was drowned!*

Parliament met on 20th October, and a motion was at once made that the Speaker should issue writs for the election of members for places of which the former members were dead, except for any where Petitions were depending. The motion was renewed on the 27th October, and on each occasion,—

* Hume's England, Chapter LXV.

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"It was moved by the Governor of Dover Castle, or some other, That Dover might not be included in the exception, but the House rejected the latter motion, and would not allow of any new Writ till the merits of the cause on the former Election were determined." [Autograph M.S. of Thomas Papillon.]

Papillon was declared by the House to be duly elected.

This Parliament, which dated its existence from May, 1661, though often out of session, was not dissolved till 24th January, 1679, when a new one was soon summoned; and Thomas Papillon was again a candidate for one of the two seats allotted to Dover.

His fellow-candidates were Colonel John Strode, the Lieutenant Governor of Dover Castle; Captain William Stokes, Mayor of Dover; and Mr. Tiddeman.

The first and last were supporters of Government;

Stokes and Papillon were in opposition.

The votes polled were:—For Papillon, 201; Stokes, 193; Tiddeman, 121; Lieutenant-Governor, 113.

The following letter from Papillon to his Wife, on the eve of the election is in strong contrast with that written prior to his election in 1673; and it is also worthy of notice for his loyal attention in visiting the Lieutenant-Governor soon after his arrival in Dover:—

"My Dear,

"I wrote you from Sittingbourne on Wednesday night, and also from Canterbury on Thursday; that night I came here, and have been received with great kindness. Yesterday, being Friday, was spent at Dover, where I was treated at Mr. Mayor's; and I find generally all the people of the town express themselves freely for me; and I think it will be as clear for Mr. Mayor; and at Sandwich for Sir James Oxenden.

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"At Canterbury, Mr. Hales and Dr. Jacob are chosen. The time of election is not yet fixed at either place, but I think it will be at the end of next week.

"I did yesterday, when I came to Dover, give a visit to the Governor at the Castle; he was very civil, like a gentleman; and I doubt not but there will be a very clear and peaceable election.

"Thou art much upon my heart, and I hope thou art also dear to the Lord, and that He will preserve thee and our family in safety, and give us a happy meeting again to His glory and our comfort. I am in haste, the messenger staying; so cannot enlarge.

"I am, Thine in all the endeared bonds of conjugal and Christian love.

"THO. PAPILLON."

*Deane, the 8th February, $167\frac{8}{9}$."

Though the desired end was thus easily attained by Papillon, not so by his colleague, Captain William Stokes.

The writ had been addressed, as usual, to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, whose resident Deputy, the Lieutenant Governor of Dover Castle, was one of the candidates. The latter endorsed the writ as locum tenens of the Lord Warden, and annexed to it a precept to the Mayor, Jurats, and Commonalty, to choose two Barons.

The writ was returned to Parliament with the precept and two other documents annexed. One was indenture between the Lieutenant-Governor on the one part, and the Mayor, Jurats, and Commonalty on the other, whereby the latter chose William Stokes and Thomas Papillon as their Barons in Parliament, in witness whereof they sealed it with their common seal. The other document was a writing, purporting to be an indenture, but made between nobody, witnessing —

* The seat of Sir James Oxenden, Bart., near Wingham, Kent.

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"That we the Mayor, Jurats, and Barons of the town and Port of Dover, in a full hundred there, that is to say, George West, Deputy Mayor, J. W——— and A——— W———, Jurats, five of the Common Council, and ten others styled Barons of the said Port, have chosen Thomas Papillon, Gent., and John Strode [the Lieutenant Governor] our Combarons, in witness whereof," they severally signed and sealed.

Soon after the meeting of Parliament, a petition was presented from the Lieutenant-Governor, claiming his own election in place of that of Stokes; but the House regarded the Mayor's return as genuine, and declared Stokes to be duly elected.

It appears from subsequent decisions of the House, and from an address by the Corporation to James II. on his accession to the throne, that the Lord Warden claimed a right to name one member for election by the borough; in 1684, on tamely resigning its Charter (see chap. ix.) the Corporation accepted the claim; and in 1689, the Lord Warden, acting on it as regarded Hastings, "by threats and menaces," it was said, caused himself to be elected by the "select body" of the Corporation, which then held rule there. The pretended power, however, of such "select body" was set aside by the House, though the claimant was allowed to retain his seat. The right to name either of the members for Dover was declared void by a special Act of Parliament passed in 1690.

On reference to the history of the Cinque Ports, and of boroughs at large, three points are clear respecting these controversies:—

1.—That they owed their origin, as self-governing and elective bodies, to convenience on the one hand, and on the other to special services which they rendered. Thus, the Cinque Ports were required to furnish the Sovereign, on demand, with so many ships fully armed and manned;

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Dover's quota was fifty-seven. And each borough was responsible for its own internal law and order.

2.—As regards the return of members to Parliament, the original call to do so was made for party purposes; and on boroughs becoming troublesome to the Government of the day, a counterpoise was established by the revival of "Decayed Boroughs," such as from poverty had long declined to send members, owing to the expense of supporting them while in session, or by the creation of new boroughs, in both cases by charter.

These practices obtained during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and Charles II.; and Cromwell created one new borough —Swansea.

3.—During all these reigns the liberty of the subject was gaining ground, and was often at variance with the governing body of the State; hence mutual jealousies and schemes by successive Governments, and their supporters in the boroughs, to control and restrict the rights of electors. A notable instance occurred in 1526. Riots having often taken place at the elections of Mayors for the several Cinque Ports, it was decreed

"At a Court of Brotherhood (or Guestling) held at Romney by the Mayors, Jurats, and other persons there assembled, that in all the Towns and Ports within their jurisdiction, 37 persons named by themselves in each of their Ports, and 24 persons in each of their Towns, should assume the sole right of electing their respective Mayors, Jurats, &c. But this bold attempt on the privileges of the Barons [Freemen] of Dover met with considerable opposition from time to time; and the self-elected Magistrates, finding they could not maintain their authority, seemed inclined to resign it. In the 4th Edward IV. they proposed a meeting with the Barons, and the contending parties agreed that if the 37 men appointed by the Act of Brotherhood

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had not full power and lawful authority to elect the Magistrates and Officers, the latter should be chosen according to the immemorial practice recorded in the Customal of the Port."*

Again, on 26th September, ~~1651~~ 1656, at a Common Assembly at Dover of the Mayor, Jurats, Common Councilmen, and Commonalty, eighty-two being present, assisted "by their Counsel learned in the law, and supported by a letter from one of the Queen's Ministers, stating that such a course would be pleasing to her Majesty, it was decreed 'that thirty-seven of the discreetest Commons' should be chosen by the Mayor and Jurats, for the purpose of electing burgesses for Parliament, and all other officers belonging to the Town and Port, which had before been elected by the Commons; and this mode of proceeding prevailed till 1623. The Freemen then petitioned the House of Commons against such election of Sir Edward Cecil and Sir Richard Younge, as being "contrary to their own just rights and ancient privileges." The House supported the complaint, and quashed the election. However, the same two candidates were afterwards returned by the Freemen.†

From a remote period the Warden of the Cinque Ports, who had also been Governor of Dover Castle, was charged among others, with two duties :—

1.—To aid the Mayor and Corporation in maintaining law and order.

2.—To take care that nothing should be done by them to the prejudice of the King.

In 1679, the Lieutenant-Governor naturally sided with the Court; and his desire to supplant Stokes probably

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* Lyon's Dover. † Glanville's Reports.

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arose from his strong desire to support the Royal cause: so keen were the feelings of the period.

The epoch of Papillon's entrance into Parliament was an important one. During the long recess above-mentioned, the King had entered into close alliance with France, and had joined with her in war against Holland, though he had previously secured funds from Parliament for the very opposite course; and for the remainder of his reign, "France, Popery, and Arbitrary Government," were the alarm cry of the Country Party.

The King had also suspended the Penal Statutes against Roman Catholics and Dissenters, and the Navigation Act; and in order to carry on the war without recourse to Parliament, at the suggestion of Clifford, as is now believed, he had closed the Exchequer, and appropriated its contents, consisting of bankers' and merchants' balances.

These arbitrary proceedings, so contrary to the bent of the nation, provoked much opposition, and the more so since Louis XIV. made rapid progress in Holland, and the French fleet ill supported the English in every engagement, so that the Dutch were able to hold their own at sea.

By collusion with the leaders of the Opposition money was obtained to prolong the war, but general aversion to it increased, and on 28th February, 1674, less than two years after its declaration, Charles II. made peace with Holland.

Thomas Papillon remained a silent member till November, 1675; then the Report of a Committee of the whole House was brought up, recommending a grant of £300,000 "for the building, rigging, and towards the furnishing of twenty ships." Ministers had demanded a larger sum, but the Country Party considered that sufficient for a

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time of peace, having doubts as to the use that might be made of a fully equipped fleet. Papillon voted with the Country Party, and spoke to this effect:—

"A man is perfectly clothed though he has not three coats or three shirts; a ship is fitted though she has not three suits of sails. 'Tis truly said that in war we must have more, but we are not at war; and doing more will be anticipating money. If the King engages in a war he will consult you for four times as many cables and anchors. The question, it seems, is, Whether we shall provide now as in war. Many of these provisions are wasting and decaying, as sails and cables, and as for the Navy, would have that lie:—Therefore would agree" [to the Report of the Committee.] *

Again in February, 1676, he advised caution and economy on a similar occasion, saying:—

"There may very well be spared £50,000 for stores out of this sum, as by former calculations." †

In February, 1678, the question came forward of supporting the King in alliances he had made with a view to the benefit of Holland, Spain, and Germany, against France. The Protestant States of Europe, and England herself, had long desired the King to interfere between the contending parties, but himself and his Ministers were in the pay of France, and therefore turned a deaf ear to all entreaties. At last, however, they were obliged to yield, and even Louis XIV. was glad to treat, as his funds were running short.

The King told the House he had engaged in treaties for the preservation of Flanders and Holland, but they must supply him with money to maintain the army he had raised, or he could not ensure the result. The Commons

* Gray's Parliamtary Debates. † Ibid.

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desired to know the particulars of the treaties, and expressed doubts of their sufficiency; the King refused to inform them precisely, as infringing on his prerogative. Some members declared the army at home (25,000 men) to be a nuisance, and dangerous to liberty. One said, "We have raised an army to make war against France, and it has made peace with her." Another, "Most armies are a terror to their enemies, this one to its friends." The Ministers were very urgent in their demands for a liberal supply. Papillon sided with the Opposition, and took a mercantile as well as a political view of the question, as on several other occasions. He said:—

"The question is, Whether we shall give the King supply, without naming Alliances. If the Prince of Orange take the power of Holland upon him—I suppose it only—shall we be obliged to maintain that Alliance? So that the doubt lies, whether we shall grant a supply to maintain these Alliances; and some would know the Alliances better. We have had a peace hitherto, to aggrandise the King of France, rather than to lessen him. France gains upon us £800,000 in trade every year. The King has been the greatest friend to Trade that ever was, but his Ministers have not done their part, and France has made war with our money. And now of a sudden, we must have a war with France. and no stop to that inundation of money thither. I would know whether by this peace we here talk of, that will be stopped. If there be nothing in this Alliance to prevent this, or the greatness of France—if I am left thus in the dark, I cannot give my vote in this case. I move therefore to address the King to know '*Whether these Alliances have been made pursuant to our Address.*'" *

On the 2nd May, the treaties were laid before the House, and it appeared that, while ostensibly engaging England in a league offensive and defensive with Holland and her

* Gray's Parliamentary Debates.

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allies, they would really impose on them a peace favourable to France; and Holland was unwilling to ratify; preferring to make peace for herself, for she distrusted England.

Under all the circumstances, the House condemned the treaties by 166 to 150, as "not pursuant to the Addresses of this House, nor consistent with the good and safety of the Kingdom. Papillon spoke thus on the occasion:—

"I would not hold the Dutch in this Treaty one hour longer. You are told that the French have refused it; so the King is disengaged as to them, and likewise to the Dutch. It is for the King's honour now to take new measures, and he is ready for your advice. Therefore since the House does not like this Treaty, now is your time to do it: and I would without an hour's delay." *

(It is remarkable how few members spoke in this long Parliament, except those of the Country Party.)

The concern for the liberty of trade, which Papillon had shewn many years before, as recorded in Chapters IV. and V., soon displayed itself in Parliament.

In March, 1676, in a Committee of the whole House on "Grievances," the subject came up of "Passes," which the Government required English ships to take out under bond at the Custom-House, and to refer to the Admiralty and the Secretary of State, under pain of forfeiting the King's protection against hostile powers; and various members denounced them as a "Grievance." But Mr. Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty, avowed that they had been established deliberately, after discussion with King at the Council table, with the Admiralty, the Customs House, and the merchants, and he believed them to be necessary.

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* Gray's Parliamentary Debates.

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In reply to this, Papillon said:—

"He never heard of any considerable Merchant advised with in these Passes. In his own case, Passes were evermore a destructive thing. The King sincerely intended the benefit of the Merchants by them, though they that informed him have not taken their measures right. Formerly an English ship and Englishmen was Security, but now a Pass must be shown. Had the property of the goods only been the Pass, trade had been good; but now the Dutch get these Passes, and hinder our trade. He has been told that the King would not own him in trade, if his ship had no Pass; if so, then he must submit to whatever is imposed, or sit down and not trade at all. This imposing money for these Passes and Bonds, is contrary to Law in all its steps. In his own case, in the Spanish articles, Passes were to be had from the Commissioners of the Custom House, but they refused him Passes till they had advised above. A ship went for France; they told the Master he must go for a new Pass; he went to the Commissioners of the Navy; they told him they would not give it unless the Owner was bound, who told them none would do it for an action another was to do. He desired the Commissioners to take the Master's Bond, but none would do but one of the Owner's Bonds. He alleged that it was against Law, but was free. They told him he must not be under the King's protection, unless he did submit to this Order. The Master took his oath before the Lord Mayor, and had a Pass from him; and the Lord Mayor was chid by the Lords of the Council, and was forbid to give these Passes. They may impose £20 or 20*s.* at this rate, or else the Merchant must lose his trade. This is a particular matter, for the profit of particular men, and I hope you will take care to provide against it."

Sir John Knight, Mr. Love, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Sir Eliab Harvey, Sir Thomas Lee, and Mr. Poole also condemned these passes; Secretaries Coventry and Williamson, Mr. Pepys, Mr. Garroway, and the Speaker supported them, but the two latter objected to fees being

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levied on them. Ultimately, at the suggestion of Mr. Pepys himself, who received the chief fees, and who indignantly repudiated any desire for private gain, and had reduced the charge of 30*s.*, made by his predecessor, to 25*s.* per pass, the matter was referred to a Committee.

In May, 1679, a Continuance Act for "*Prohibiting the Importation into England of Irish Cattle*," &c., gave occasion to Papillon to enter very fully into the question; for though much interested in domestic and foreign policy at large, the interests of trade lay near his heart, and he was well conversant with them.

A short extract from Hume's History of England (Vol. VII. page 447, edition 1788) may be a good prelude to the case. Writing of the year 1666, Hume says:—

"Ireland began to attain a state of some composure when it was disturbed by a violent Act, passed by the English Parliament, which prohibited the importation into England of Irish Cattle. The Duke of Ormond (Lord Lieutenant) remonstrated strongly against this law. He said that the present trade, carried on between England and Ireland, was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only provisions or rude materials in return for every species of manufacture. That if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that Island had no other commodity, by which they could pay England for their importations, and must have recourse to other nations for a supply. That the industrious inhabitants of England, if deprived of Irish provisions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby render their manufactures too dear to be exported to foreign markets. That the indolent inhabitants of Ireland, finding provisions fall almost to nothing would never be induced to labour, but would perpetuate to all generations their native sloth and barbarism. That by cutting off almost entirely the trade between the

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Kingdoms, all the natural bonds of union were dissolved, and nothing remained to keep the Irish in their duty but force and violence; and that by reducing that Kingdom to extreme poverty, it would even be rendered incapable of maintaining that military power, by which, during its well grounded discontents, it must necessarily be retained in subjection.

"The King was so much convinced of the justice of these reasons, that he used all his interest to oppose the Bill; and he openly declared, that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the Commons were resolute in their purpose. Some of the rents of England had fallen of late years, which had been ascribed entirely to the importation of Irish Cattle. Several intrigues had contributed to inflame that prejudice, particularly those of Buckingham and Ashley, who were desirous of giving Ormond disturbance in his Government: and the spirit of tyranny, of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the English to exert their superiority over their dependent State. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this was by the Commons. They even went so far in the preamble of the Bill, as to declare the importation of Irish Cattle to be a *nuisance*. By this expression they gave scope to their passion, and at the same time barred the King's prerogative, by which he might think himself entitled to dispense with a law so full of injustice and bad policy. The Lords expunged the word: but as the King was sensible that no supply would be given by the Commons, unless they were gratified in their prejudices, he was obliged both to employ his interest with the Peers to pass the Bill, and to give the royal assent to it. He could not, however, forbear expressing his displeasure at the jealousy entertained against him, and at the intention which the Commons discovered of retrenching his prerogative.

"This law brought great distress for some time upon the Irish: but it has occasioned their applying with greater industry to manufactures, and has proved in the issue beneficial to that kingdom."

The part taken by Thomas Papillon was as follows:—

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"TUESDAY, 6TH OF MAY, 1679.

"THE Bill for continuing and enforcing the Act for prohibiting the Importing of Irish Cattle, was read the first time and ordered a second Reading.

"184 Yeas for Commitment.
"133 Noes.

"TUESDAY, THE 13TH OF MAY, 1679.

"THE Bill for continuing the Act for prohibiting of Irish Cattle, read the second Time and committed.

"183 Yeas for Commitment.
"151 Noes.

"On a Question, Whether all that came should have Voices at the said Committee.

"149 Yeas.
"172 Noes.

"A BREVIATE OF TWO ARGUMENTS MADE USE OF AGAINST THE CONTINUING THE BILL FOR PROHIBITION OF IRISH CATTLE, BY THOMAS PAPILLON, ESQ.

"THE first Argument was made the 6th May, 1679, on the first reading of the Bill, and was taken from the Consideration of England and Ireland as they stand in relation to the other.

"Ireland is an Acquest belonging to England, which hath been acquired and maintained, at great Expence of English Blood and Treasure.

"The State of the Question is, What the true Interest of England is in Reference to Ireland, which certainly is, to make Ireland serviceable and advantageous to England, and not to set up Ireland in Competition with England.

"It is a Consideration worthy of an English Parliament to make Ireland profitable to England.

"This cannot be done by excluding them from a Trade to England, that's to make them independent of England, and to force them to a Trade with foreign Countries, and so to a Familiarity and Correspondence with them.

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The Way for England to make Ireland advantageous, is, that England should be Master of all the Commodities of Ireland, and no Commodities whatsoever to be transported out of Ireland to any other Part but to England, and so from England handed to all other Parts of the World.

"Is it not a great Advantage to any Country to have the Staple of Trade, and to be the Magazine of Commodities?

"Why do Persons engross Commodities, but that when they are the sole Masters of such or such a Commodity, and have it all in their own Hands to make an Advantage by raising the Price?

"The French and Dutch Armies and Garrisons were, during the last Wars, supplied and upheld by Irish Provisions, Corn, Beef, Butter, &c.; if these must have been handed to them thro' England, besides that it would have been in the Power of England to have distressed one side by with-holding, and accommodated another by furnishing them according as its Interest lay, would not much Advantage have accrued to the English in the Employment of People and Ships for carrying the said Provisions, and also Profit thereon, which must all have been paid for by the Foreigners?

"If all the Commodities of Ireland must pass thro' England, then all foreign Commodities that Ireland wants would be supplied by the same Way, which would be of great Advantage to England.

"How have the Dutch arrived to that Wealth and Greatness they have attained to? Not by forbidding the bringing in of Commodities from other Countries; but by encouraging the Importation, by engrossing the Commodities of other Countries, and making Holland the Staple, and from thence handing them to the rest of the World.

"God hath given Ireland to England, all its Riches, all its Commodities are ours, and what, shall we reject them, and say we won't have them, let France have them, let Holland have them, we will not suffer them to come into England?

"And what's the Reason? If Irish Cattle come in, it will make English Cattle fall in Price, and thereby the Rents of our Breeding Lands will fall.

"Pray consider, How came the Lands in England to the Value

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they are now at? That which in ancient Time was worth but 40*s.* a Year is now worth 20*l.* a Year. Whence came this Advance of Lands? Certainly from Trade, from foreign Trade; it is that which hath raised our Lands to what they are.

"Those Gentlemen that would by a Law keep out Irish Cattle to advance the Rents of the Land, will find they mistake their own Interest. There is a present Good and a future Good. It may possibly fall out that for the present they may make some Advantage till the Trade comes to find another Course. Trade will not be forced, but will have its Course; If it meets with a Stop in one Place, it will find a Vent another Way. Cheapness of Provisions, in a natural way is a great Blessing, and so is Dearness of Provisions by the increase of Trade and People.

"But to make Things dear by Force, in keeping out Supplies, is a despising of God's Blessing, and will bring a Cheapness, by a Decay of People and Trade. For consider,

"What will be the Consequences to England, of prohibiting the Irish a Trade to England?

"Ireland is seated for the Trade of the World, more advantageously than England; hath abundance of good Harbours, lies open to the Sea, and hath a People gone out from England, and planted there, that are acquainted with Trade, &c.

"You will not let their Cattle come into England.

"This puts them on breeding Sheep, for which Purpose Quantities have been sent out of England thither since this Act was first made.

"They will set up the Trade of making Cloth and Stuffs, which by Reason of the Cheapness of their Provisions, they may afford 40*l.* per Cent. cheaper than those made in England.

"Hereupon our Clothiers and Manufacturers will be forced to go and settle in Ireland; what gain will there be to keep out three-score thousand Beasts, and send away 100,000 Men, for so it will be in Time.

"And because from Ireland they cannot send their Cattle alive to any other Place so well as to England, they will take care to feed them, and furnish all the World with their Flesh, Tallow and Hides.

"The Commodities which the French and Dutch have from Ireland, sets them up, and enables them to out-do the English

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in Trade.—Thereby they are enabled to victual their Ships cheaper, having Irish Beef at 6*s.* or 7*s.* per Cwt., when we pay 22*s.* to 24*s.* per Cwt.

"They are supplied with Irish Wool for their Manufactures, which is one Reason ours are slighted, and though there be Laws against the transporting of Wool but to England, yet they are easily evaded when the Course of their Trade lies with Foreigners, and is denied in a great measure to England.

"So that the Consequence of excluding the Trade of Cattle from Ireland, will set up Ireland in Competition with England for Trade. And Ireland having the Advantage, must needs diminish England; and as Trade declines in England, the Rents of Lands will fall, and they that now so passionately press for this Act will repent it, but not be able to retrieve it.

"Whereas, if all the Commodities of Ireland were only to be from thence brought into England, it would very much increase the Trade of England, prevent the setting up the Trade of Woollen Manufactures in Ireland, the Linen Manufacture being most proper, to which they might be encouraged, and by the Increase and Continuance of the Trade in England Rents of Lands would augment and hold in Succession.

"It was objected, Are not the Irish so settled already in their foreign Trades and Correspondences, that though this Act be laid aside, and the Trade of England open again, yet the Irish would go on in their Trade to foreign Countries, and thereby England would be deprived of any Advantage or Benefit?

"To this it was answered,

"That as it was this Act at first, that put the Irish on foreign Trade, and took them off from their trading to England, so it might be hoped that if this Act ceased, they would alter their Course again in a great Measure at least, they not being fully fixed, the Nature of their Land being more proper for Breed of great Cattle, and their Inclinations not yet totally alienated from England.

"However, it was good to try this Experiment, as being the most moderate Way, and if this did not do, other Expedients must be thought on.

"So concluded to reject the Bill.

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"THE other Argument was made the 13th of May, 1679, on the second reading the Bill, and was taken from the Consideration of England in itself.

"An English Parliament did represent all the People of England, and therefore ought not to be carried by any particular Interest, but to mind the general Concern of the Kingdom.

"Eight Parts in ten of the People of England had neither breeding Land nor feeding Land, and it was the Interest of all of them to have Provisions cheap.

"If it be said, that it is the Lands of England that bear the Charge and Burden of the Government, and therefore that is principally to be considered.

"It is answered,

"I. That though it be true, that the Lands bear the extraordinary Taxes and Charge, yet the constant and standing Revenue of the Kingdom is borne by the People in Customs, Excise, &c. So that on that Account the People ought to be considered in the first Place.

"II. That of those two-tenth Parts that were Owners of Land, the Owners of the feeding Lands did bear at least the two third Parts of all the extraordinary taxes.

"All the thirteen Counties in Wales paid but about 1,200*l.* per month to the Tax, and the County of Suffolk alone paid above 1600*l.*

"The County of Cornwall paid but about 700*l.* per month, and had forty-four Members in Parliament, the City of London paid 2100*l.* per Month, and had but four Members of Parliament.

"So that it was demonstratively the Interest of nine Parts in ten of all the People of England to have a free Importation of Irish Cattle, and to have Provisions as cheap as may be.

"Therefore moved to reject the Bill.

"BUT if notwithstanding all that can be said, the House should be of Opinion to commit and pass the Bill,

"Then he did move by way of Addition or Amendment to the Bill, and therein did appeal to the Justice of the House,

"That as live Cattle were prohibited for the Benefit of the breeding Land, so that Butter, Hides, Tallow and Corn might

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be prohibited for the Advantage of the feeding Lands, there being the same Reason for one as the other. He said he might also move for the Prohibition of Irish Wool into England on the same Ground, but that he knew it so destructive, that he forbore, though the same Justice might challenge it.

"Further he moved, That if the Act must pass, it might be made perpetual, that so the Owners of rich Lands might not neglect to apply themselves to breeding Cattle, on Hopes, that at the Expiration of this Act the Trade would be open again.

"Lastly, as to the declaring the Importation of Irish Cattle a common Nuisance, he could not understand it.

"A common Nuisance must be that which is detrimental and prejudicial to the Generality of the People: That which is only detrimental to a particular Person or to a few in Comparison of the whole Nation, cannot be a common Nuisance.

"Now he takes it, that the Prohibition (and not the Importation) of Irish Cattle is detrimental to the whole, but take it at the best, there is but one Part in ten that have Benefit by it, and the other nine Parts have Loss by it; so that it is impossible it should be a common Nuisance when but one of ten suffer by the Importation: Much more Reason there is to say, that the Prohibition is a common Nuisance, because nine Parts of ten are Sufferers thereby, and but one Part Gainers. It was alledged formerly, that though the Thing itself was not a common Nuisance, yet the not yielding Obedience to an Act of Parliament was a common Nuisance; but this though true (it being a great Evil that Laws should be eluded) is no Reason why it should be inserted in this Act, more than in any other: For if the not doing every Thing enjoyned by a Law, and the doing every Thing, or any Thing forbidden by a Law must be a common Nuisance, then this Clause ought as well to be inserted in every Act of Parliament as well as this.

"Further he said, he hoped the Justice of the House, and even of those Gentlemen that were so earnest for this Act, would be mindful, that if this Law passed, Care should be taken when any Taxes came to be charged on Lands, that those Counties that received Benefit by this Act, should be raised considerably in their Proportions and the others abated. Some Gentlemen had said, if this Act did not pass, they should lose some 1000,

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some 200, 300, or 400*l.* a Year. If their Advance in Rents was so great by this Act, it was but Justice that their Proportion of the Taxes should be raised accordingly."

Though slightly retrogressive it may be well to record here the speech made by Papillon to the electors of Dover on his re-election by them in February, 1679; it sets forth the principles which guided him in his political career up to the period of his exile in 1685; and how far his conduct was valued by the electors is shown by their address to himself and his colleague on their joint re-election for the third time in February, 1681:

Papillon's speech in February, 1679, was as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—You have been pleased by this second choice of me to represent you in Parliament, to give a testimony of the continuance of your affection to me, and an evidence of your acceptance of my former endeavours, and thereby I am not only encouraged cheerfully to accept the service, but also engage to return you my hearty thanks.

"And, Gentlemen, I do return you all my most hearty thanks for the honour you have done me herein, and I do assure you I will endeavour to the uttermost of my ability to discharge the service so as to approve myself a sincere Protestant, a loyal subject, a true Englishman, and a Freeman of Dover, being engaged under the sacred tie of an oath, and under the strictest obligation of repeated kindness to endeavour the welfare of this Corporation and of every member thereof.

"Now God Almighty, Who ruleth over all, of His infinite mercy so guide and direct all the consultations of this Parliament as may most conduce to the honour of the King, the safety and preservation of his Royal Person and Authority, to the security and maintaining the true Protestant Religion, and the Laws, Liberties, and ancient Government of this Kingdom, and to the further discovery and dissipating of all the pernicious designs, plots, and conspiracies of Papists, both at home and abroad, against his Majesty's sacred Person, our Religion, and Government, and let every true Englishman, and loyal subject say, Amen."

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Address of the electors of Dover in February, 1680:—

"To Thomas Papillon and William Stokes, Esquires, the late and new-elected Members to serve in Parliament for the Town and Port of Dover, in the County of Kent,—

"We, the Mayor, Jurats, and Commonalty of the said Town of Dover having duly considered the good abilities and great faithfulness of you who have been our Representatives in the two preceding Parliaments, and have therein given demonstration of your loyalty to his Majesty, and for the security of his Majesty's kingdoms, do with all gratefulness return you our hearty thanks, and do pray that in pursuance of the trust we have now again reposed in you, you will with the same candour and faithfulness endeavour the security of his Majesty's Person, the Protestant Religion, and his Majesty's Protestant subjects by your utmost endeavours for the perfecting of those good Bills that were before you in the last Parliament, in prosecution of which we will stand by you with our Lives and Fortunes."

(Ere long, alas, they were unwilling even to stand up for their own Corporate rights. "Tempora mutantur," &c.)

Descending from great to small, the following bill for entertainment may interest some:—

"Charge at the Election the 14th of October, 1679.

	£	s.	d.
Paid for Flesh at several prices—Beef, Pork, Veal, and Mutton	16	15	9
Paid for Goose, Turkey, and other Fowls	1	18	6
For two hogsheads of White Wine and half hogshead of Claret	17	10	0
To Mr. Pepper for a butt of Marsh Beer, and a barrel besides	3	14	0
For Cook, Scullions, Attendants, and Servants	8	10	0
For Wood and Coals in all	0	14	0
For Bread and Pastry	2	5	0
For Salt, white and brown	0	8	6
For Tobacco—13lbs. and Pipes	1	15	0
For Butter and Cheese	0	17	6
For one dozen Candles	0	5	6
Paid Captain Tavenor's Bill	1	10	1
Paid Carpenters, to set up and take down the Tables and Forms	1	10	6
For Nails	0	9	6
For Plates, Bottles, Pots, &c., lost	1	15	6
	£59	19	4

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"Also,—TIDDEMAN'S NOTE.

"Laid out at several times at my house in Drink and some Victuals for several of the poorest Freemen, who came to me at several times that I would not put them off for fear of our loss in the business, and disbursed by me 4 14 6

"(Signed) HENRY TIDDEMAN."

The sea on which the new Parliament embarked was indeed a stormy one. The old fears of Popery, France, and Arbitrary Power had been increased by the so-called Popish Plot, which was related to the King in September, 1678, and was made known by him to Parliament in the following month. It was the production of Dr. Titus Oates, who was afterwards convicted of perjury. He asserted that a deep conspiracy was in progress, under the direction of Jesuits, for the murder of the King, the subversion of the Government, and the re-establishment of Popery; and that commissions had been already prepared for various Civil and Military Officers among the supposed insurgents.

On the first examination of Oates by the King in Council, the King detected him in a positive untruth; but the false evidence of Oates harmonized well with the just fears of the people; and poor Charles felt constrained to yield to the popular fury, to permit Oates to propagate his base tales, which both Houses of Parliament greedily swallowed, to lodge him at their desire at Whitehall with a guard and a pension of £1,200 a year, and to sanction the unjust trial and execution of many innocent victims, ending with that of the venerable Earl of Stafford, who had faithfully clung to the cause of his father, Charles I.

Two circumstances gave credence to the plot in the days of its infancy; first, the mysterious murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a famous Westminster magistrate,

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to whom Oates had made a deposition of his tale; and secondly, the seized letters of Coleman, a Jesuit, and late secretary to the Duchess of York; the letters disclosed a correspondence with the French King's Confessor, carried on with the knowledge of the Duke, and aiming at a supply of money from Louis XIV., wherewith to suborn men in office towards the interest of the policy of France, and of the furtherance of Popery in England.

About the same time, Montague, the English Ambassador at Paris, returned home without leave, and laid before the House of Commons, of which he was a member, a letter from Earl Danby, the Lord Treasurer, countersigned by the King, in which the latter stipulated with Louis XIV., during the negociations for the Treaty of Nimeguen, that if the latter should be brought to a successful issue he should grant him £300,000 a year for three years, as the English Parliament would be sure to restrict their grants.

On the meeting of Parliament in October, 1678, being informed by the King of this "Popish Plot," as above related, both Houses at once applied to his Majesty for the proclamation of a Fast-day; and in replying to his Majesty's speech, the Commons requested him to cause the removal of all Popish rescusants to the distance of ten miles from his various places of residence; and that the Duke of York might be removed from his presence and Councils.

Parliament also passed an Act, precluding all Papists, except the Duke of York from sitting as members; and both Houses evinced much zeal in prosecuting those implicated in the plot according to the evidence of Oates, and of his new associate, Bedlow.

In these heated proceedings it does not appear how far Thomas Papillon took part; but on a charge being brought against Secretary Williamson for having issued Military

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Commissions to Papists, contrary to law, he did not remain silent.

On the 18th November, 1678, the matter was brought forward, and Williamson admitted the fact, but pleaded extenuating circumstances, and the course of official routine. After a short debate it was moved and carried that he should be sent to the Tower; and Thomas Papillon spoke as follows:—

"I have been pondering this matter of the Commissions in my heart, and I am in great apprehensions that Williamson should have signed he knows not what. It might have been to destroy my life and fortune. I have heard mention made of the Act of the Militia, wherein the Lord Lieutenants and Deputies are obliged to swear not to oppose persons commisioned by the King in pursuance of such Military Commissions.

"Therefore great care should be taken of these Commissions, how they are granted out, that must not be disobeyed. Therefore you must shew your displeasure against this Minister, who signs he knows not what. Formerly we had no standing Army; only the King's Gentlemen attended him; and what may become of us, now we have a standing Army and a Plot, if such Commissions be granted out?

"At this rate, Williamson might have commissioned the Pope's Army, and these Commissions were granted out in October, in the height of the Plot.

"If you will not do something in this, the people will believe that you apprehend no danger of Popery: This is in your power to furnish, and you may do it, though you could not remove ill Ministers.

"Therefore I move, that Secretary Williamson be made an example."

The resolution was carried,—

"That Sir Joseph Wiliamson, Secretary of State, be immediately sent to the Tower, for signing Warrants for Popish Officers to be mustered and receive pay according to Law."

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The next day the King ordered the attendance of the House, and expressed surprise at the arrest of his Secretary; his Majesty also explained the circumstances of the case, shewing how the officers who had been in the French Service, would have otherwise suffered.

The House again debated the question on the ground of *Popery and France*, and finally addressed the King, courteously supporting the step they had taken, and humbly desiring his Majesty to recall all Commissions granted to Papists, or reputed Papists at home or abroad.

In this debate Thomas Papillon spoke thus:—

"I will not speak to point of Law in this matter. I am convinced that it is your best way to represent to the King your reasons for what you did.

"What can endanger the King's life, but the Papists? It has been said, 'To secure the King's life, it is the best way to put it in no man's power to change the Government, should he die.' It is a Popish Army and Officers that put the King's life in danger, though the Magistrates be Protestants. I would neither dispute the King's power, nor question our own in this matter. For I take not the King's speech to be so bitter as some do; I would address the King not to release Williamson, and shew our reasons why we committed him."

However, the King at once released him, courteously promising to revoke all Commissions to Papists.

In the session from May to July, 1678, it soon became clear to the House of Commons that the King would not make war against France, as they had desired; and they passed a resolution for the payment and disbanding of the Army, though the King expressly desired its maintenance till a general peace might be settled.

On assembling in October, the House found that the Army had been paid, but not disbanded, the King repeating his former reasons for its maintenance, and

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specially for that of the troops in Flanders, lest the Spanish interests there should suffer. But the House feared evil designs, and determined to adhere to their former resolution.

Thus one member (Colonel Titus) said:—

"A strange circumstance attends this Army. It was raised for an actual War with France, and it has made an actual Peace. Other armies are a terror to their Enemies, this to their Friends. There is an end of an army when disbanded; but this is continued after disbanding. . . . . It is true, the Plot was more ancient than the Army;—and though the Army was younger than the Plot, pray God it be not part of the Plot! In Peace, there is nothing for an Army to subdue but Magna Charta. Justices of the Peace and Constables are more requisite now than Captains and Colonels, at present not necessary. But before we enquire why this Army was not disbanded, according to Law, I would first disband them. Enquire how we got the disease; but get a remedy for it first. I move you, therefore, first to vote '*That this Army be disbanded.*'"

Thomas Papillon said:—

"There are not above 5,000 of these men in Flanders; the rest of the 30,000 are in England—for what intent I know not. Those in Flanders, that went over for the honour of the Nation, are unpaid; and those here are paid, and in no want. Those in England are a grievance, all agree; and that never looked towards Flanders. My meaning is, that by this the Flanders Forces could not longer be paid."

It was resolved, *nem. con.*:—

"That it is necessary for the safety of his Majesty's person, and the peace of the Government, that all the Forces which have been raised since September 29th, 1677, and all others (that since that time have been brought over from beyond the seas from foreign service) be forthwith disbanded."

Resolved:—

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"That it is the humble opinion and desire of this House, that the Forces which are now in Flanders, may be immediately called over, in order to their disbanding."

Notwithstanding this, the Army was still kept up, and in the next session the House declared its maintenance to be "Illegal," and made strict provision for its disbandment.

In that session, which lasted only from 6th March to 27th May, 1679, the Habeas Corpus Act was passed, and the prosecution of supposed accomplices in the Popish Plot was carried on; and last, not least, the House of Commons passed a Bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from succession to the Throne, on account of his being a Papist. The House was also very ardent in the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, late Lord Treasurer, for the part he had taken in negociating with Louis XIV. for a secret pension to Charles II.

These various measures of Parliament, so restrictive of what the King considered his rights, and so contrary to his desires, led him to prorogue Parliament on 27th May, 1679, and to dissolve it on 10th July; and although a new Parliament was elected in October, it was not called together for business for a year, viz., on 21st October, 1680.

But the popular fury would brook no delay; the country was urgent for the further discovery and arrest of the authors of the Popish Plot, and they felt that that would be carried out, only by Parliament. Accordingly, numerous petitions poured in, praying the King for its re-assembly, with a view to "the protection of his Majesty's person, and of the Protestant Religion, and to the prosecution of those concerned in the Popish Plot."

The King issued a proclamation condemning such

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petitions as unlawful, and an interference with his prerogative in the prorogation or re-assembly of Parliament; and the Court Party made counter petitions, expressing their *abhorrence* of such proceedings. Hence the two parties were styled "*Petitioners*" and "*Abhorrers.*"

(The fear of the Plot was at this time so great, that a city celebrity was reported to have said, "That unless people were active in its extinction, they might all awake some morning with their throats cut!)

The House of Commons upon their assembling did not long delay to declare boldly in favour of the Petitioners. On the 27th October, it was resolved, *nem. con.*:—

"That it is (and ever hath been) the undoubted Right of the Subjects of England to petition the King for the calling and sitting of Parliaments, and redressing Grievances."

Also, it was resolved, *nem. con.*:—

"That to traduce such Petitioning as a violation of duty, and to represent it to his Majesty as tumultuous and seditious, is to betray the liberty of the subject, and contributes to the design of subverting the ancient legal Constitution of this Kingdom, and introducing arbitrary Power."

No sooner were these resolutions passed than Colonel Titus rose and said:—

"You are right in this vote: Then those who have done against it are in the wrong. He that poisons me, or hinders me from an antidote, contributes to destroy me. Are we so great sinners that they will hinder us to pray? But for those that should assert your liberties, to betray you! If there be any amongst us that are loth we should sit, we may be loth too that they should sit amongst us. Let every such member be heard in his place, and then of right he may be heard at the Bar. If Sir Francis Wythens be not in the House, pray send for him, that he may be heard in his place."

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Sir Francis Wythens was Member of Parliament for Westminster, and Deputy Steward of the Westminster Sessions. He attended in his place on the following day, and spoke as follows:—

"I account it the greatest misfortune in the world that I am fallen into the displeasure of this illustrious Assembly. I am satisfied in my own conscience that I intended no ill. I am a stranger to four parts in five of this House, and am fallen into the displeasure of them that know no good of me; and likewise it is the first time I ever appeared as a delinquent to excuse what I have done amiss. I do acknowledge it a great offence in delivering the Address to the King from the Grand Jury of Westminster, and I humbly confess I do not think fit to baffle here. I was Chairman at the Sessions, and the Justices made an Order, and agreed to it, and desired me to present it to the Jury. At the Justices' request I did it, not as any voluntary act of mine, but as theirs. . . . . I am for the legal Government, and have been a Justice of the Peace these three years, and have with great earnestness prosecuted the persons who would have destroyed the King and the Protestant Religion. . . . . I humbly submit myself to you. Where so great prudence is, there will be clemency."

The Justices, on being called, did not support Sir Francis Wythen's statement. Papillon spoke thus:—

"It seems, by the evidence, that the Clerk of the Peace moved the Justices to sign the Petition; and that Mr. (Justice) Robinson and the rest declined it. Wythens' was a promoter and a setter on of it, and he moved the Justices after dinner to sign it; and knowing it to be against the Law, and the Subjects' birthright, and he, a man of Law, not to inform them, but to move the Justices to sign it! I know not what more can be said."

Sir Thomas Clarges said:—

"I would be careful, in what concerns a Member, not to proceed hastily or arbitrarily. You have heard Wythens' speak in his place, and you are not ripe upon a general information

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to give an opinion, which no court can give judgment upon. I would refer it to a Committee, that they may go upon it, to examine the matter, and have it reported, that we may have something on our books to justify what we shall do."

Mr. Harford spoke thus :—

"Next to Popery, this matter of Petitioning is the greatest point. How will you come to have Parliament sit, when, it may be, those about the King, of bigger bulk than this gentleman, behind the curtain persuade the King, that these Petitions are tumultuous and seditious?" &c.

Several members spoke *pro.* and *con.* Papillon spake again :—

"What is this gentleman's crime? It is betraying the Liberties of the Subjects of England, by petitioning to subvert the Rights of the Subjects. He has confessed it, and can bring no witnesses. The thing is plain before you for judgment. The main crime he has confessed, of hindering these Petitions, &c., contrary to the liberty of the subject, and their common natural right. Will you give him time to prove any thing against his own confession?"

Eventually, he was expelled the House; the Speaker, in delivering judgment, saying :—

"This is a great crime, committed by you, a Member of Parliament, against the Parliament, a crime against known Law!" &c.

Thomas Papillon's judgment of Sir Francis Wythens was a natural sequence to the part he had himself taken on the 29th July previous (1680) in presenting a petition to the Lord Mayor, vindicating the conduct of the Whig Party in the City, in their recent election of Bethel and Cornish as Sheriffs, against the aspersions of the Court Party, who would have magnified the excitement of the occasion into a "Riot," and urging the King to cause the re-assembly of Parliament. And by a paper in Thomas

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Papillon's handwriting it would seem that he had prepared another form of petition more strongly expressing his sense of the emergency.

The two petitions were as follows:—

Petition actually presented by Thomas Papillon:—

"To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Clayton, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London,

"We the Commons of this City now in Common Hall assembled, cannot but take notice how our last meeting on this occasion hath by some of this City been misrepresented to his Majesty as tumultuous and disorderly; and though we did not observe any thing of that kind, but what might commonly happen in such great assemblies on like occasions, yet not knowing how far the indiscretion of the informers may have carried that scandal in prejudice of us, we hold ourselves bound in duty to declare (as hereby we do) That the heat that then appeared among us, was no other than the effect of emulation for his Majesty's service, and the preservation of our own just rights; and therefore we do utterly detest any thought of violating our allegiance to our Sovereign, or of doing the least thing that may bear the interpretation of an affront to his Majesty's Government, or a disaffection to his Royal Person.

"We pray your Lordship to represent us as such to the King, that he may no longer be deceived in this matter, nor his gracious intentions towards us in any way diverted; and withal humbly to assure his Majesty that we will with one heart and one hand, to the uttermost peril of all that is dear to us, join in the defence of his Royal Person and the Protestant Religion, against all attempts and plots to the contrary, though ever so often repeated upon us,

"And being deeply sensible that it hath been the design of the Popish Party for many years and still is, for to destroy him and it, And that there is under God no way so effectual, to prevent these their cruel and bloody purposes, as by his Majesty's authority in Parliament.

"We therefore further pray your Lordship, humbly to beseech his Majesty in our names, That for the preservation of his Royal

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Person and Government, and the Protestant Religion to us and our posterity, he would graciously please to order that this Parliament, his great Council, may assemble and sit, that the most speedy and effectual course may be taken to search into and prevent those grievous cruelties, desolations, and destructions which the Councils of Rome have determined and are still endeavouring to execute on this Kingdom. And as by that means we have hopes we shall be secured against all our fears, so we shall have cause to thank your Lordship for thus representing us to his Majesty, and humbly to pray for his long life and happy reign over us, as becomes us who profess ourselves to be his Majesty's Obedient, Loyal, and Dutiful Subjects."

("Copy of Petition designed to have presented to the Lord Mayor by the Common Hall, but now waived and another presented in lieu thereof.")

"To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Clayton, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London,

"The Commons of the said City in Common Hall assembled, being sensible That it hath been the design of the Popish and Jesuitical Party, for many years to subvert and destroy the Protestant Religion and the established Government of this Kingdom.

"That in order thereto not only the burning of the City, and many attempts since of that kind, but also that late devilish and horrid Plot and conspiracy, was continued for the assassinating his Majesty's Royal Person, they well knowing that while he lives they can never accomplish their end; and

"That notwithstanding Divine Providence hath hitherto in a wonderful manner prevented it, yet they are unwearied and restless in their endeavours, and are still by various methods carrying on the same design.

"That it is only by his Majesty's authority in Parliament (as the said Commons with humble submission suggest) that suitable provision can be made for the safety and preservation of his Majesty's Royal Person, for securing the Protestant Religion to posterity, for the uniting and begetting a mutual confidence between all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, and

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for the bringing to punishment the authors of the pernicious conspiracies,

"That whilst the sitting of the Parliament is deferred, the Popish and Jesuitical Party not only take encouragement to themselves in hopes of his Majesty's death (which God prevent) before such provision can be made, but also by their Agents and emissaries, who disperse themselves among all sorts, endeavour to gain advantage by secret whispering insinuations and private misrepresentations, to take off the belief of the Plot, To raise jealousies of, and amongst his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, and to asperse his most Loyal Subjects, and particularly the Commons of the City, as disaffected to his Majesty,

"The said Commons do therefore upon serious consideration of the premises, make it their earnest request to your Lordship,

"That your Lordship would please to make a true representation to his Majesty of their unfeigned loyalty and sincere affection to his Majesty's Person and Government,—And humbly to intercede with his Majesty, That in the most speedy and proper way that his Majesty shall think best, the Parliament may sit so as to bring to effect what shall be found necessary for the honour and safety of his Royal Person, and for the security of the Protestant Religion to posterity, and humbly to beseech his Majesty, That no private representation to their prejudice may make any impression on his Royal breast, for that they are and always will continue his Majesty's most dutiful and Loyal Subjects, and constantly adhere to his Royal Person and the Protestant Religion, and readily hazard their lives and fortunes in the defence thereof."

Although we may smile at the credulity of our ancestors as regards the Popish Plot, and must deeply deplore the fate of its innocent victims, we must admit that the proceedings of the Court Party, both at home and abroad, favoured the general belief in it.

The aspect on the Continent also was most alarming; Louis XIV. of France, the constant friend and ally of Charles II., was crushing the small remnants of religious

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liberty in his own country, and was using his utmost efforts to conquer Holland, almost the only asylum on the Continent for refugee Protestants.

The Duke of York also was a devoted Papist, and a man of much decision of character (though happily of no finesse); and the House of Lords refused to pass the Exclusion Bill.

Is it surprising, under all these circumstances, that our Protestant forefathers should have been somewhat rash and hasty in the defence of these precious rights, to obtain which their fathers had bled and suffered?

And had they been milder in their course of action, can we feel sure that the Revolution of 1688 would have crowned our national independence?

The following address, copied from the State Paper Office, is a sign of the feeling of the Country at that time:—

"THE ADDRESS OF THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX TO THE KNIGHTS OF THEIR SHIRE, SIR JOHN FAGGE AND SIR WILLIAM THOMAS, BARONETS, AT THEIR CHOICE AT LEWES, MARCH THE 3RD, (16)80/1.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Had we not heard well of your fidelity and ability in discharging former Public Trusts we had not this day called you to the same employ, for they that betray or neglect our service shall never receive our trusts again; and though we have no intention to limit or circumscribe the power we have laid in you, yet we must desire and that with earnestness, as becometh those that beg for no less than the life of their King, Government, Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Properties, yea, the very lives and being of all the Protestants in the world, that you would please as our Representatives to have an essential regard for these particulars following:—

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"1.—That you would effectually secure his Majesty's Royal life, and the lives of all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects by a firm and legal association.

"2.—That you would repeat the endeavours of the two former worthy Parliaments in barring the door against all Popish successors to the Crown, and in particular against James Duke of York, and against Arbitrary Government.

"3.—That you would be incessant in your endeavours for uniting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects.

"4.—That you would further search to the bottom those damnable and hellish Plots of the Papists that have been laid against his Majesty's life, the Protestant Religion, and the Government; and bring these horrid criminals to justice.

"5.—That you would not forget those execrable villains that by receiving pensions betrayed their trusts and our liberties in the late Long Parliament, but do serve exemplary justice on them, that all others for the future may fear, and do no more so wickedly.

"And in doing these things, and all other that you may judge necessary for the peace, safety, and prosperity of the Nation, we shall not only stand by you as thankful acknowledgers of your service, but reckon it our duty, if any hazard threaten you, to defend you as worthy Patriots with our lives and fortunes."

In December, 1680, another case of expulsion from the House occurred in that of Sir Robert Peyton, Member of Parliament for Middlesex; but Papillon would not join in the verdict.

Sir Robert had been a vehement opponent of the Court Party; so much so that he was deposed, with others, from the Commission of the Peace; was mentioned in the fictitious "*Meal Tub Plot*," and was committed to the Tower. In an evil hour he had become acquainted with one Gadbery, a man of low repute, a pretended astrologer, and an informant of the Court Party.

The times seemed critical, some apprehending a return to Parliamentary Government, others to Monarchical.

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Sir Robert Peyton shewed signs of relenting in his opposition to the Court; Gadbery improved the occasion, as did some of the King's Ministers, and arrangements were made for him to come to terms with the Duke of York, and so with the King.

But no sooner had he taken his seat again in Parliament, than Gadbery appeared against him, on account of the visit to the Duke of York which he had himself promoted; further alleging various damaging statements.

He was thereon called to explain to the House, and did so thus:—

"I am a little surprised to hear their report. I did not hear this language at the Committee. Gadbery moved my meeting Lord Peterborough at his house, to me, not I to him. I did say to the Duke, 'That I was for the Bill of Exclusion; not for any pique against him, but for the good of the Nation.' I never saw Mrs. Cellier, nor heard of her, till after I was with my Lord of Peterborough, who repeated the actions the Duke took ill of me. Mrs. Cellier asked for Gadbery, and came into the tavern where we were, and discoursed of Chancery suits; But of '20,000 men' that I could command, I know nothing. What passed was a mixed discourse, after having drunk a good deal of wine. Gadbery in his examination did accuse Cellier and Lord Castlemaine, and at his trial did renounce all. You may see by this what manner of man Gadbery is; a man of uncertain reputation, and I hope you will give him no credit.

"In waiting upon the Duke, I aimed at no more than a personal reconciliation to the Duke; who said, 'He was sorry I should have any marks of the King's displeasure, and that he would put me in Commission again;' which I said I would not be, unless those gentlemen came in again, who were turned out with me. . . . . The Duke said further to me, 'You have appeared against the King and me, the last Parliament, and was of the Green Ribbon Club.'* I parted with the Duke

* A Club of Exclusionists.

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and he was not well pleased with me, that I would not engage in some things, but would follow my conscience; and I never saw the Duke since.

"There was treason sworn against me upon forgery, and I was committed to the Tower, and I might have been immediately tried upon it. I affirm upon my honour, I did not know how soon times might turn, and I lie in jail; and so I made a personal reconciliation with the Duke, and I did only see him—in which, if I have offended, I humbly beg pardon of the House, and submit myself to your determination," &c.*

Sir Thomas Player, who had been on intimate terms with Sir Robert Peyton, declared against him, saying:—

"I will be content to let the matter go as Peyton says, 'That Gadbery courted him, and not he Gadbery.' Whether I will be knave by inclination or solicitation of another, surely is no extenuation of the crime. It may be the House will do a great service to the Kingdom of England, to declare your resentment against them that court so cursed an interest as that of the Duke of York. He has confessed that he has been with Gadbery, who is a predicting fellow, and pretends to prophecy," &c. . . . .

"And must be introduced by Lord Peterborough! Not one person Peyton corresponds with, that you can make a good construction of. And I hope in time you will think of Lord Peterborough. Had I a mind to reconcile myself to the Duke, all the world should see that my going to him was out of an honest interest; but to go by night, like a rogue, makes it a work of darkness, not a compliment only to the Duke. But I know the Duke so well, that the Popish designs are not to converse with people in a compliment: He designs greater matters. I think him not fit in this House that holds correspondence with the Duke. Pray clear the House of him," &c.

Serjeant Maynard said he could not exculpate Peyton's recent conduct after his previous violence on the opposite side, but concluded his remarks by saying:—

* Gray's Parliamentary Debates.

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"I know not how to acquit him; but if upon Gadbery's information only, I think he is not guilty."

Thomas Papillon said:—

"I have no acquaintance with Peyton. I have as ill thoughts of such actions as he is charged with, as any man; but I must crave pardon if I am not of the opinion of some gentlemen. It may be the concern of any gentleman here. You are going to expel him the House. What was his crime? He was twice with the Duke. You are told what kind of person Gadbery is. I cannot believe what Gadbery says. I take it that he denies all things but his being with the Duke. If it were our case, any of us might have gone to the Duke. I am afraid this gentleman had too great an inclination to make some compliance with the Duke. Members in the Long Parliament that have had elections depending, it may be a month or six weeks, when the contest has been over, and the matter at an end, or they thought they could get any advantage by it, have spoken a different language in the House to what they had done before. But Peyton would not come up to do the Duke's business, and then he was prosecuted with all the malice that could be,—'That he was in the Presbyterian Plot (Meal Tub) with Cellier and Gadbery.' And this is the bottom of it. I think he was inclinable to some compliance; but I cannot think this a crime for which he ought to be expelled the House."

Eventually, the House passed the following resolutions on the unfortunate Member:—

"It appearing to this House by the report made at the Bar, and the confession of Sir Robert Peyton in his place, that Sir Robert Peyton had secret negotiations with the Duke of York, by means of the Duke of Peterborough, Mrs. Cellier and Mr. Gadbery, at such time as they were turning the Popish Plot upon the Protestants.

"Ordered, That Sir Robert Peyton be expelled this House; (and that he be brought to the Bar, and do receive the censure of the House upon his knees from the Speaker.)"

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On the following day, the Speaker thus delivered judgment on him:—

"Sir Robert Peyton, It is a long time that you have had reputation in the world, and that you have served as Knight of the Shire for the County of Middlesex. Two Parliaments, the last and this, your Country made a free election of you; your Country had a great opinion of you; and now you are in that condition that you have appeared to the world the man you really were not. You have made a show, and have acted a part against Popery and Arbitrary Power, yet really and inwardly you have only sought your own advantage, and not that of your Country. It is manifest by the report from the Committee; and your own defence makes it clear. Many gentlemen here, whose eyes are in their heads, their tongues and eyes have moved as well as yours. You have sat betwixt the Devil and the Witch, Mr. Gadbery and Mrs. Cellier. The dark ways you have taken shew your ill designs; your company and conductors shew your errand. You are fallen from being an Angel to be a Devil. From the beginning you sought your own interest. To set up a Commonwealth you had '20,000 men,' to make your interest the stronger. You were bustling, like the wind, in this House and in coffee houses. Your Country chose you to this place, not only for your interest, but for an example to other men, not with noise and thundering, but to behave yourself without vanity or ostentation; you are one of them that have played your own game and part; and that all men may take notice, you are a warning for all other members, and I hope there are none such. It shews that this Parliament nauseates such members as you are. You are no longer a part of this noble body. How you will reconcile yourself to your Country, is another consideration. You are discharged this House, and the custody of the Serjeant, paying your fees."

(The coarseness and severity of the terms of this judgment so exasperated the victim that at the end of the session, he challenged the Speaker; but the latter

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reporting the matter to the Privy Council, poor Sir Robert was again committed to the Tower.)

One other incident in the Parliaments of Charles II. may be mentioned as evincing Thomas Papillon's jealousy of the liberty of the subject.

In the Spring of 1680, Peter Norris, a Scotchman, tailor to the Duke of Monmouth, informed the Country Party that he knew of one Dowdall, a Roman Catholic Priest, residing in Flanders, who could reveal all about the Popish Plot; and he was sent over to fetch him.

The Privy Council, however, had heard of Dowdall in July, 1679, and had issued an order for him to be brought to England; but he never came, so far as is known; and ere Norris could bring him, he had died.

Norris had no sooner started on his errand, than one, Sheridan, an informant of Sir Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State, brought him word of it, and gave him a description of Norris. Sir Lionel Jenkins at once informed the Committee of Council, and by their direction he sent orders to the Mayors of Dover and Rye to arrest him and any one with him, on his return.

He was accordingly arrested at Dover, and put in jail there; but making his escape, he appeared before the House, which thoroughly investigated the matter; and on 10th December, 1680, the following resolution was adopted:—

"That the late imprisonment of Peter Norris, at Dover, was illegal, and that the proceedings of Sir Lionel Jenkins, Knight, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, by describing the person of the said Norris, and directing such his imprisonment, was illegal and arbitrary, and an obstruction to the evidence for the discovery of the horrid Popish Plot."

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In the debate, the following had previously passed in the House between Thomas Papillon and Sir Lionel Jenkins:—

Mr. Papillon.—"Norris went over and did not acquaint the Lords of the Council. I would be satisfied why it was Jenkins's duty to stop this man, because he had not acquainted the Lords of the Council."

Sir Lionel Jenkins.—"I was but Ministerial in this. My duty was to acquaint the Lords of the Council, and to receive their direction, or advice at least, to command the Mayor of Dover to stop him. My business was to carry the information."

Mr. Papillon.—"This description was near costing Norris his life. Several descriptions were given of Norris. To the first description Jenkins is clear. To the second he is charged by Sheridan. I do not know what stopping a man on the way or road is, if ordered to be immediately sent up to the Council by a Mayor or Officer upon verbal order, &c. But there is something lies hid (not to be discovered) from the eyes of the world—Without, they are Protestants; within, they carry on the Plot—(I speak not of Jenkins.) The manner of penning this letter to take Norris, looks like disguise. Consider the nature of it, how this letter is penned. It sends a description of Norris, &c. If he went to discover the Plot, the service was not great, to stop him. The Officer was to tender him the oaths, &c.: *which if he refused, to stop him.* Let all the world know that; *but if not, find a handsome way to detain him.* Stop him, and not stop him; imprison him, and not imprison him. It looks with a Popish face upon a Protestant business. I know not what it is."

Parliament was suddenly prorogued, and then dissolved in January, 1681, and a new one, of similar stamp, met at Oxford, on 21st March. The House of Commons soon decided again to bring in an Exclusion Bill; and they then proceeded nominally to impeach—but really to protect—Fitzharris, the author of another fictitious Plot;

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but the House of Lords refused to sanction this step; and the King took occasion thereon to dissolve Parliament on the 8th day of its session, and he never called another.

In closing this account of Thomas Papillon's career in the Parliaments of Charles II. it is pleasing to notice that the interests of Commerce—his own special sphere—engaged him more than party politics; and that though ready to take his fair share in the latter, and to speak plainly when requisite, he was seldom concerned in the more violent and personal disputes which engaged the House of Commons, and the Country at large.*

A glance at the following list of Committees on which he sat, and of the speeches he made, will abundantly prove this:—

LIST OF COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, OF WHICH THOMAS PAPILLON WAS A MEMBER DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

21st Jan., 1674.	On the Petition of several Shipmasters of London, in the Newcastle trade.
31st „ „	Information against a Member for prospective corruption.
18th Oct., 1675.	To consider of the Trade between England and France.
26th „ „	Duties on Iron and Brass Ordnance, and Customs Officers' Fees.
9th Nov., „	Petition against the East India Company.
11th „ „	Bill to suppress Pedlars, &c.
22nd „ „	(Parliament prorogued till 15th February, 1677.)
7th Mar., 1677.	To examine into the Complaints as to granting Ship Passes, &c.
16th July, „	(Parliament adjourned till 28th January, 1678.)

* The high opinion in which he was held in the House is shewn *inter alia* by the fact of his having served on sixty-eight Committees—many relative to Commerce—during the seven years odd from 1674 to 1681.

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16th Feb., 1678.	Bill to prevent the Exportation of Wool.
19th „ „	Charge to be levied on New Buildings about London.
5th Mar., „	To perpetuate an Act to prevent unnecessary Suits, Delays, &c.
16th „ „	To enquire as to forfeitures on Quakers, &c., as Popish Recusants.
21st „ „	Bill to Empower Protestant Strangers to pursue their Callings.
27th May, „	Bill concerning Bankrupts; specially to prevent a Minority of Creditors from Obstructing a Composition; introduced by Mr. Papillon.
30th „ „	Two Petitions—One from Levant Merchants; the other from Mohair Workers.
30th „ „	Pay due to Forces ordered to be Disbanded.
7th June, „	Bill to increase the Revenue of the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral.
8th „ „	Bill for the Exportation of Leather.
11th „ „	Bill for Burying in Woollen Manufactures.
14th „ „	Bill to prevent the Exportation of Wool.
24th „ „	Bill for Naturalizing John Scoppens.
25th „ „	Bill for the Encouragement of Sowing Hemp and Flax.
27th „ „	Touching the Prohibition of French Goods.
1st July, „	Bill to enable Creditors to recover from Executors.
11th „ „	Bill to settle Lands for the Benefit of the Parish of Kelsall, Suffolk.
15th „ „	(Parliament prorogued.)
21st Oct., „	Committee of Privileges and Elections.
28th „ „	To translate the Letters of Mr. Coleman.
11th Dec., „	To inspect the Journals of the House, and Report Errors, &c., weekly.
30th „ „	(Parliament prorogued, and afterwards Dissolved.)
1st April, 1679.	To examine the Accounts of the Paymaster of the Army as to the Pay still due to the Forces ordered to be Disbanded.

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2nd April, 1669.	A Bill for better securing the Liberty of the Subject.
5th „ „	A Bill for better regulating the Election of Members.
7th „ „	To examine the Charge against Sir J. Robinson, M.P., as to Prisoners in the Tower.
8th „ „	A Bill to disable persons from Sitting who had not taken the Oaths.
10th „ „	A Bill to perpetuate the Act against the Importation of Irish Cattle, &c.
12th „ „	To Inspect Laws now in force against Swearing, Drunkenness, Uncleanness, Sabbath-breaking, &c.
16th „ „	A Bill for securing the King and Kingdom against growth of Popery.
23rd „ „	To receive proposals concerning the Royal Fishery.
27th „ „	A Bill to Banish all Papists, and reputed Papists, 20 miles from London.
2nd May, „	A Bill to prevent Minority of Creditors Composing with Bankrupt; introduced by Mr. Papillon.
6th „ „	Address to the King to remove the Duke of Lauderdale from all Offices.
10th „ „	To enquire into the Abuses and Exorbitancies of the Post Office.
12th „ „	To enquire about the Guns, &c., lately sent from Tower to various places.
16th „ „	Petition of a Distiller against the Farmers and Collectors of Excise.
22nd „ „	To Inspect Journals relative to the Impeachment of Earl Danby.
24th „ „	Answer to the Lords relative to Earl Danby's pardon.
26th „ „	Touching Bill for Reversing Outlawries in King's Bench.
27th „ „	(Parliament prorogued and Dissolved.)
25th Oct., 1680.	Committee of Privileges and Elections.

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28th	Oct., 1680.	To Inspect Journals of two last Parliaments, and report on them about Popish Plot.
4th	Nov., „	On Bill for further encouragement of Manufacture of Woollen Goods.
4th	„ „	Concerning the Maintenance of the Poor.
6th	„ „	To Inspect the Law on the Observance of the 5th November.
8th	„ „	Reference with the Lords about the Popish Plot in Ireland.
15th	„ „	Bill for better regulating the Trial of Peers.
15th	„ „	Relative to Charges against Sir Robert Peyton.
8th	Dec., „	Bill for the Exportation of Leather.
9th	„ „	Perusal and Care of Papers of Mr. Sheridan relative to apprehension and imprisonment at Dover of Peter Norris by order of Sir Lionel Jenkins.
20th	„ „	On Bill for the Sale of Billingford, Norfolk, to pay debts.
20th	„ „	To examine Accounts of Commissioners for Paying off the Forces.
3rd	Jan., 1681.	Naturalization of Peter Elers, &c. (Mr. Papillon to carry it to the Lords.)
6th	„ „	Bill for the Easier Collecting of Hearth Money.
6th	„ „	Bill to Repeal the Corporation Act of 1661.
7th	„ „	On Bill for the better discovery of Settlements for Superstitious Uses.
10th	„ „	(Parliament prorogued and afterwards Dissolved.)
25th	Mar., „	To prepare for a Conference with the Lords on the Constitution of Parliaments in passing Bills.
25th	„ „	Impeachment of Edward Fitzharris for High Treason.

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A LIST OF MEASURES OF AN EXTREME CHARACTER INTRODUCED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY THE COUNTRY PARTY FROM 1674 TO 1681; ESPECIALLY THOSE FOR THE CONSIDERATION AND PREPARATION OF WHICH COMMITTEES WERE APPOINTED.

7th Feb., 1674.	Resolution—Standing Army a Great Grievance.
23rd April, 1675.	Petition to the King against the Duke of Lauderdale.
26th „ „	Impeachment of Earl Danby.
21st May, „	Bill to prevent Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.
27th „ „	Bill to prevent the Growth of Popery.
21st Feb., 1677.	Bill to recall his Majesty's Subjects in the service of the King of France.
26th Mar., „	Address to King promising support in a War against France.
27th „ „	Bill for Securing the Education of the Children of the Royal Family in the Protestant Religion.
16th April, „	Address in reply to one from King requiring new Funds rather than Old.
23rd May, „	Address to the King beseeching him to enter into Alliances against France.
28th Jan., 1678.	Address to the King beseeching that no Treaty be made below that of the Pyrenees.
31st Oct., „	Resolution—"That a damnable and hellish Plot," &c.
13th Nov., „	Address to King for a Commission for Tendering Oaths to the Queen's Menials.
16th Nov., „	Address to the King to raise one-third of the Militia.
16th „ „	Secretary Williamson sent to the Tower for issuing Commissions in the Army to Papists.
28th „ „	Address praying for the removal of the Queen from Whitehall.
28th „ „	Resolved—"To address the King for the Apprehension and Security of all Papists."

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2nd Dec., 1678. Resolved and Committed—
1—"To tell the King of dangers owing to his neglect of the advice of Parliament."
2—"Ditto ditto from the Growth of Popery."
3—"Ditto ditto from non-observance of the Law."

19th „ „ To prepare Articles of Impeachment against Earl Danby.

17th April, 1679. Committee of Secrecy to draw up Evidence against Earl Danby.

26th „ „ Address to the King praying him to order Execution of Pickering; and to order the Judges to issue Warrants for the Execution of Popish Priests whom they have condemned!

11th May, „ "Exclusion Bill" against the Duke of York.

11th „ „ Address to the King, vowing vengeance on the Papists, should his Majesty come to a violent death.—Committed.

22nd May, „ Sir Anthony Deane and Mr. Pepys sent to the Tower; and the Attorney-General directed forthwith to prosecute them and others concerned in the fitting out and career of the Sloop *Hunter*, &c.

27th Oct., 1680. Address to the King, requesting his Majesty's pardon for all persons who within two months shall give Evidence on the Popish Plot. Also an Address, delaring the resolution of the House to preserve and support the King's person, the Government, and the Protestant Religion, at home and abroad.

2nd Nov., „ Resolved *nem. con.*—"That the Duke of York being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming to the Crown as such, hath given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present designs and conspiracies of the Papists against the King and the Protestant Religion.

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Resolved *nem. con.*—"That in defence of the King's person and Government and of the Protestant Religion, This House doth declare that they will stand by the King with their lives and fortunes: and that if his Majesty should come to a violent death, which God forbid! they will avenge it to the utmost on the Papists."

Resolved—"That a Bill be brought in to disable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of these Realms."

Ordered—"That a Committee be appointed to prepare and draw up such a Bill."

11th Nov., 1680. Address to the King, reflecting on his Majesty's frequent prorogation of Parliament to the hindrance of the prosecution of the Popish Plot; and praying his Majesty not to be diverted again into such a course.

12th „ „ Address to the King, requesting his Majesty's pardon for Edmund Murphy, Hobart Bourck, Thomas Samson, John Mac Namarra, John Fitzgerald, and Eustace Coning, Informers of Popish Plot in Ireland.

12th „ „ Resolution to acquaint the Lords of resolve to proceed at once with the Trial of the Lords in the Tower, beginning with Viscount Stafford.

12th „ „ That a humble Address be made to his Majesty to remove Sir George Jeffreys out of all public offices.

12th „ „ That a humble Address be made to his Majesty to remove George, Earl of Halifax from his Majesty's presence and Councils for ever.

19th „ „ A humble Address to his Majesty to appoint a Day for a Solemn Fast and Humiliation.

20th „ „ Impeachment of Edward Seymour, Esq., Treasurer of the Navy for Mis-appropriation of Public Moneys.

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22nd Nov., 1680. Charge against the Earl of Halifax for promoting prorogation of Parliaments.

27th „ „ Very long Address to the King, recapitulating the support that has been given to Popery on various occasions, and stipulating for his Majesty's discountenance of all persons so disposed,—in which case the House will vote money for the maintenance of Tangier.

13th Dec., „ Bill to be brought in for the Banishment of Papists and suspected Papists from London and Westminster, and from twenty miles beyond.

Ordered—"That the Members for the Counties, Boroughs, and the Cinque Ports bring in Lists of the Papists residing in their respective localities."

15th „ „ Resolved—"That as long as there is any prospect of the Duke of York succeeding to the Throne, the lives of the King and of Protestants are unsafe."

15th „ „ That a Bill be brought in for an Association of all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects for preservation and Exclusion.

20th „ „ Very long and dictatorial Address to the King.

23rd „ „ Impeachment against Sir Francis North, Sir William Scroggs, Sir Thomas Jones, and Sir Richard Weston, Judges.

7th Jan., 1681. Renewal of necessity for the Exclusion Bill, and request for the Removal from Office, &c., of the Earl of Halifax, Laurence Hyde, and Marquis of Worcester, because opposed to it; of the Earl of Clarendon; and of the Earl of Feversham, because a promoter of French interests and Popery.

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CHAPTER IX.

STRICTURES ON THE CORPORATION OF DOVER—SURRENDER OF ITS CHARTER—AND GRANT OF A NEW ONE.

Test and Corporation Act of 1661 dormant till 1680—Orders then sent to Dover to purge Corporation—resulting in deposition of two Jurats and twenty-six Common Councilmen—Papillon advises Mayor to cause vacant seats to be refilled without delay—Mayor requests Papillon's interest with Secretary of State—Several Jurats object to assertion of Corporate rights *versus* the Government—Secretary of State defers final decision—Papillon again urges on Mayor the prompt completion of Corporation—many oppose this counsel—hesitation on part of Mayor—Secretary of State reports that Lieutenant-Governor of Dover Castle objects to the Mayor's return as false—and opposes progress—Papillon demands copy of objections—Partial re-election of Town Council, with Names of those elected—Course of events in the general surrender of Charters—Surrender of Dover Charter—and thanks for a new one—Names of new Members of Council—their eviction by King James, in 1688—and restoration of old Members—Sketch of the life of Sir Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State during course of above proceedings.

N the early part of the last Chapter various facts were adduced to shew the state of parties in boroughs generally, and in Dover in particular; as also the steps that successive Governments were apt to take to influence the elections to Parliament.

Thus we find that from 1646 to 1660 the House of Commons formed a Committee for considering how the Corporations could be settled, and *their Charters altered and renewed, so as to be held under the authority of the Commonwealth;* and in 1656 a Committee was appointed

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to bring in a Bill "*to prevent the election into Corporations of denounced persons.*"*

On the Restoration, in this as in other departments of State, re-action set in strong; and in 1661 an Act was passed "for regulating Corporations," reciting that "questions were likely to arise concerning the validity of the Elections and Removals during the late Troubles, contrary to their Charters; and to the end that the succession in such Corporations may be the most properly perpetuated in the hands of persons well affected to his Majesty and the Government—it being too well known that notwithstanding all his Majesty's endeavours and unparalleled indulgence in pardoning all that is past—nevertheless many evil spirits are still working,"—Therefore it was enacted that no Charter should be avoided for any thing that had passed, but that all persons henceforth elected to any office in a borough should as a qualification take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and subscribe a Declaration denouncing the Solemn League and Covenant, and further that they should have partaken of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England within one year of their election to office; and the Act gave authority to the King in Council to appoint Commissioners for the Regulation of Boroughs accordingly.

On 25th August, 1662, Commissioners visited Dover, and deposed from office two Common Councilmen for refusing to take the Oaths and subscribe the Declaration, and as concerned seven Jurats and thirteen Common Councilmen they recorded:—

"We, the said Commissioners for divers good causes and reasons us thereunto moving have thought fit and requisite for

* See Merewether and Stephens's "History of Boroughs."

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the public peace and safety of this Kingdom, to displace and remove all and every of the said persons from all and every their said places, offices," &c.

After this sudden outburst of Parliamentary and Regal rule it would seem that the Borough of Dover, as other boroughs, was allowed to pursue its wonted course. In 1668 the King renewed the Charter of the Cinque Ports, confirming them in all their ancient rights and privileges. The Act of 1661 was allowed to slumber. The King loved ease. The elections to office in the Corporations sympathising with the country at large, inclined to the Liberal Party; and the Act was much neglected.

The dissolutions of Parliament in January and May, 1679, and the consequent appeals to the people, brought to light the hostile power of the Boroughs, and the conflict between the Court and the Commons grew more and more violent.

In 1680 the King in Council began to bestir themselves, with a view to purge the Corporations of Nonconformists, and to introduce others more likely to support the Government at the elections. In common with various other boroughs, the Corporation of Dover was ordered through its Mayor, Nicholas Cullen, Esq., forthwith to remove from office all who had not complied with the Act of 1661, and to make a Return thereof to the Privy Council.

The ferment and dismay of some, and the hopes and intrigues of others, which this step produced, are vividly pourtrayed in a lengthened correspondence between the Mayor and others of Dover and Thomas Papillon, of which the following is a summary: Dover, however, was not alone in its divisions and final discomfiture, and a future Chapter will record how Papillon himself was driven from his native land about the same time, and in connection with the same cause—the contest of the Crown and the Corporations.

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On the 16th April, 1680, an order was sent from the Privy Council to the Mayor and Corporation, directing them to examine how the Act of 1661 had been observed; to remove from office all members who had not duly complied with it; and to make a Return thereof to the Privy Council.

On the 30th April, the Mayor and Corporation made a return, reporting the removal of two Jurats who had not taken the Oaths, of nine Common Councilmen who were not entered on the books as having done so, and of seventeen Common Councilmen who had not partaken of the Lord's Supper.

On the 5th May, Papillon's fellow M.P., Captain William Stokes, wrote from Dover, informing him of the above, and stating that the Lieutenant Governor of Dover Castle, Colonel John Strode, approved of the Return when made, but was then said to raise objections to it, and to design that particular men should be put into office, to the manifest infringement of their Charter. He referred to a letter of the Mayor, and requested Thomas Papillon to ascertain at the Home Office how matters stood, offering to go to London himself if requisite.

Papillon promptly replied, advising that in a Common Assembly of all the Freemen, new Jurats and Common Councilmen should be elected in place of those removed, and that it be not left to the Secretary of State and the Lieutenant Governor, to put into office objectionable persons.

Captain Stokes expressed his approval of this counsel, but neither himself nor the Mayor were disposed to adopt it; and the latter begged Papillon to enquire at the Home Office if the Return was approved, and to use his interest on behalf of the Corporation.

The Secretary—Sir Lionel Jenkins—expressed a doubt

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as to the power of the remaining members to complete their number, so that a new Charter might be requisite. Papillon replied that the original Charter of 1578, which had been confirmed by the King in 1670, gave them full power, whereon Sir Lionel Jenkins requested a copy of it.

Papillon at once informed the Mayor, warned him against expecting any help from the Secretary, and urged that himself and the remaining Jurats should proceed without delay to complete their body, before unwelcome men should be thrust on them.

However, the Mayor and the only two Jurats who sided with him, Captain Stokes and Mr. Richards, were irresolute; and others opposed any assertion of inherent rights in opposition to Sir Lionel. On the contrary they sought the aid and interest of the Lieutenant Governor, who promised it; though it soon appeared he was drafting official objections to the soundness of the Mayor's Return.

Meanwhile, the Secretary informed the Mayor through Papillon that the Return and copy of Charter had been laid up in a box on the table of the Privy Council, to be duly considered with the Returns, &c., of other Corporations; and soon afterwards he informed Papillon that exceptions having been made to the Return, a case must be prepared for the opinion of the Attorney General —the King would require it. Papillon pressed for the authorship of these exceptions, and learning it was the Lieutenant Governor, he sought and at last found him at the Secretary's lodgings; and challenging him as to the nature of his charges, the latter declined to reply, but said he would prove them before the Privy Council; moreover, he said he was supported in them by various Jurats and Common Councilmen, whom he named; but they denied his assertion.

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The end of May had nearly come, six weeks worse than lost; Papillon, writing to Captain Stokes, reminds him and his friends of their neglect of his counsel—supported as it was by legal advice—but still urges them to immediate completion of their body.

Early in June the Privy Council appoint a Committee to examine the Returns, &c., of all the Corporations, and as some concluded, to regulate the admission of new members. This throws fresh alarm into the minds of the Mayor's party, and hopes of preferment into those opposed to them. On the 15th June, the Lieutenant Governor delivers to the Secretary his exceptions to the Mayor's Return; in due course they are refuted by the Corporation; and again the Lieutenant Governor objects to the refutations. And thus Sir Lionel Jenkins acquires a plea for stay of proceedings.

On the 2nd September, the Mayor applied to the Secretary for leave to complete the Jurats and Common Councilmen, in view of the forthcoming election of Mayor on the 8th; he requests Papillon to deliver his letter, and ask for reply; and informs him of the still divided counsels of the Jurats. Whether Papillon complied with the request does not appear; he had told the Mayor on the 27th May, that he had much reluctance in visiting the Secretary; and as to a reply from the Secretary, there is no record.

On the 8th September, Nicholas Cullen was re-elected Mayor; and on the 28th December, 1680,

At a Common Assembly, present, Nicholas Cullen, Mayor, and six Jurats, viz.: John Holder, William Stokes, William Richards, John Bullarke, John Vayly, and Charles Vayly; the nine following were elected Common Councilmen, and took the required Oaths, viz.: Richard Baxe, Thomas Raworth, Edward Francklyn, Isaacke Lamb,

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William Everard, Edward Bayler, Thomas Peirce, Bartholomew Worthington, and Henry Broadley.

On the 31st December, 1680, the following were elected and took the Oaths, viz.: Thomas Scott, as a Jurat; Thomas Pepper, continued as Town Serjeant; and Thomas Peirce and Thomas Raworth, as Chamberlains.

At a Common Assembly held on 9th January, 1682, present The Mayor, five Jurats, and twelve Common Councilmen, It was deemed expedient to address a letter to the Common Council with a view to impose fines on members not acting or qualifying, so as to secure a fuller attendance; and on 25th June, 1682, at a Common Assembly, present, Nicholas Cullen, Mayor, and others, the following were elected Jurats and Common Councilmen, viz.:

Richard Baxe, Edward Francklyn, and Thomas Raworth, as Jurats; and the two former qualified at once: As Common Councilmen, Edward Wivell and Thomas Hamerdon, who qualified on the 30th June; Thomas Bedingfield, George Wellard, John Danaber, and William Peene, who qualified on the 7th July; John Holland and Robert Colloy, who qualified on the 21st July; and John Foord and William Gearie, who qualified on the 25th October; and at a Common Assembly on the latter date, Common Councilmen William Eaton, Merchant; Peter Peters, Surgeon; Thomas Gibbon; Richard Hills, Mariner; George White, Maltster; and William Nepnon, Merchant; were fined £10 each: while Benjamin Goodwyn, Haberdasher, Thomas Dawkes, Richard Dawkes, Robert Kennett, Butcher, John Hollingsbury, Maltster, and Edward Pitts, Freeholder; were allowed a month's grace. On the same day, Edward Wivell, Common Councilman, was elected Jurat, and at once qualified.

It appears from these data that the attempt in 1680 to

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complete the Town Council was quite a failure; Thomas Papillon's first advice to the Mayor, to summon the Freemen to renew the Council was clearly distasteful, and his subsequent efforts to rouse the Mayor and Jurats to action, on their own inherent power, met with little response. The Secretary of State and the Lieutenant Governor with their friends in the Borough, desired to impede active measures, in order to promote Court influence; and those in office in the Borough had neither the energy nor the ability to resist them. In 1681, when the King suddenly dissolved the Oxford Parliament without calling another, and popular opinion—that versatile power—turned in his favour, it is probable that the Municipal hopes and fears subsided; and thus in 1682 some success attended the efforts of the Mayor and Jurats to replace the Council on a working basis:—The Government, however, were in no way disposed to let things rest on such uncertain ground; but resolved to call in all the Charters they could, and renew them on more restricted conditions, so that the Crown might always be master of the situation.

In the autumn of 1682 a Writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued against the *Corporation of London;* the Government, for special reasons, being very anxious for complete control in the City. After a prolonged trial (see State Trials) the Charter was pronounced to be forfeitable to the Crown; and before long the Court Party in the City carried a motion for its surrender.

No sooner had the Government gained this victory, than writs and menaces were directed against boroughs throughout the Kingdom; and seeing that London, the stronghold of the "Country Party," with all its wealth, had failed, how could they (the smaller boroughs said)

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resist the Court, now ruling without a Parliament? They almost all succumbed without a blow.

Thus, says Roger North (a strong Court partizan) in his "Life of Lord Keeper Guilford":—

"The course adopted after the judgment" (against London) "was either to court or frighten harmless or orderly Corporations to surrender—or upon refusal, to plunge them in the chargeable and defenceless condition of going to law against the Crown—whereby that which would not come by fair means, was extorted by violence."

Again:—

"The trade of Charters ran to excess, and turned to an avowed practice of garbling the Corporations for the purpose of carrying elections to Parliament."

Respecting this general surrender of Charters, the following remarks were made in the House of Commons in 1689, on the discussion on the *Corporations Bill*, then in course of enactment.

Sir Henry Goodrich appears to have fairly summed up the causes of the surrenders in the words, Avarice, Force, and Easiness.

Sir Thomas Clarges said that he knew a Corporation of £600 a year, advised by the Lord Chief Justice to surrender; or else, if judged against them, their lands would go to the next heir of the grantor.

Sir William Williams said, "In some Corporations of 600 who had a right to give consent to a surrender, not above thirty-four were for it, and they prevailed; and how came this about? This was a packed Common Council by ————; and in Chester, there were still 500 in being against the surrender."

Mr. Finch (another Constitutional lawyer) spoke of the surrender as a fault, but said it was general, and attributed

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them to the judgment in the London Quo Warranto, after which most of them occurred.

The result of this surrender of Charters was such that combined with other causes, on the assembly of Parliament after the accession of James II., the King said :—

"There were not above forty members, but such as he himself desired ;"

and most obsequious they were to please him. Burnett says :—

"Every thing was granted with such a profusion that the House was more ready to give than the King to ask."

As regards the previous inquisition into Corporations, such as that of Dover in 1680, the following letters—in the Public Records Office—shew the unhealthy condition of men's minds at the time; and how severity and tale-bearing go hand in hand.

"To the Right Honourable Sir Lionel Jenkins, Principal Secretary of State, at Whitehall.

"Rye, May the 8th, 1680.

"May it please your Honour,

"Thinking myself obliged by oath and duty to serve his Majesty to the utmost of my power in those capacities that his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to bestow upon me by giving your Honour an account that there hath come letters on both sides of this place for the Regulating of Corporations, and that there is hardly one place in England that wants it so much as this, it being wholly governed by those who are not at all capable by the Act; and there being no letter come here makes them think they are secure; or if there be any come, it is kept up by the Mayor, which cannot read it; who was the greatest instrument for encouraging those to appear to give their votes for electing himself; and afterwards of Burgesses for this place—by sending his Serjeants to warn them in, that never durst presume to give their votes since the execution of

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the said Act, when they were turned out as disaffected to the King and Government. This I thought good to acquaint your Honour, and humbly leave it to your consideration, hoping you will pardon the presumption of one who had the honour of being known to you at my Lord Chancellor Clarendon's by the name of Honoured Sir, your Honour's most humble Servant,

"(Signed) R——— H———.'

"To the Right Honourable Sir Lionel Jenkins,

"Right Honourable,

"I congratulate your high but deserved promotion and being now one of those that are placed to hold the stem of the Kingdom, it is requisite that some one in the place he lives in, should inform such as you with the inclinations and affections of the people there to the established Government; for the Council must expect an '*Omnia bené*' from a Corporation, when they are to give an account of themselves. Take then this true character of the Corporation men of Bath from a lover of the King and the discipline of the Established Church, viz.:—

"The present Mayor is a legal, well-principled man.
"Robert C——n. No fanatic; speaks flattering to all parties.
"Captain C——n. An old honest Cavalier.
"Watt. G——s. A huffish Alderman, but a lover of the established Government.
"B——k of the Shop. A sly fanatic.
"B——r. An insolent fanatic.
"B——k, of Westgate House. A plain, downright man.
"H——e. A very honest man.
"P——r. A harmless, peaceable man.
"B——l. A loyal-hearted man.—So much for the Aldermen.

"Common Councilmen.

"C——e. A decrepit old Cavalier.
"W——s. An ignoramus; the selling a barrel of Ale will make him vote for anything.
"W——d. A chip in porridge.
"A——s. An atheistical fellow, and knight of the post.
"C——y. A man of good principles.

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"John S——n. A damnable antimonarchial man; a frequenter of Conventicles.

"A——d. His wholly devoted creature. A frequenter of Conventicles.

"Ben B——n. It is no matter what he is; for he has not an atom of sense.

"S——s. An honest, industrious man.

"Tom G——s. A furioso, but well affected towards the Government.

"Will C——n. Richard M——r. Both loyal and jolly fellows.

"P——e. Is well enough, but when he is influenced by the Country (Party).

"C——t, alias Old Rock. Firm to the King and his friends.

"J——s. A Church of England man.

"W——e. A dapper Apothecary. In loyalty equals the best of them.

"S——e. A well-meaning man.

"Will S——n. Is quite opposite to the principles of his brother John.

"R——s. A fantastical, shatter-headed coxcomb.

"This is a truer account than what they will send of themselves to the Council, and if the Corporation acquaint not the Council of the malicious practices of ——— and others against the King and his Government, and reform irregularities, permitting a suspected Popish Priest here, without tendering the Oaths, and suffering fanatical Ministers to reside in the Corporation to disaffect the people against the King and Government, by telling the people that the King will let in Popery upon us by suffering the Duke of York to be nigh him, who they say will make the King do any thing against the Protestants, so that under fear of Popery they endeavour to influence the people into rebellion, which God forbid, so prayeth

"Your F. S.,
"A. R."

The data relative to the attachment and surrender of the Dover Charter are very limited. The Minutes of

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Assembly contain no reference to it beyond the following, made more than two years after the occurrence:—

"11th January, 1686. At a Common Assembly held this day, appeared Robert Jacob, Esq., Mayor, George West, Esq., &c.

"Upon reading a letter from the Honourable Colonel Strode, touching the proportion of moneys of this Port to be paid to the Solicitors for the charge of Removing the General Charter for the Cinque Ports,—

"It is ordered that the Town Clerk write to the Town Clerk of New Romney for a copy of all the proceedings at the last Guestling, and the several proportions of each Port in defraying the charge of renewing the said Charter.

"Ordered—Upon presenting Mr. Veel's Letter and Charges in presenting the Quo Warranto against this Corporation, and the ——" [word illegible] "at the Assizes, that a letter be written to him by the Mayor, requesting him to send copies of such letters and orders as he hath in his custody for such prosecution, that they may further consider therein; and in the mean time Captain West, Mr. Wellard, &c., are hereby appointed and ordered to examine his accounts, and prepare a charge of what moneys have been paid him towards his charges in this service."

The Rev. John Lyons in his "History of Dover," (pp. 215-7) gives the following account of the proceedings:—

"Whilst the Attorney General was prosecuting the Quo Warranto against the Corporation in the King's name, a Petition signed by 128 of the inhabitants was sent to the Duke of Albermarle to be presented to the Sovereign; and he received it very graciously. They assured his Majesty that they were deeply penetrated with a sense of their unhappy situation in belonging to a Corporate Body which had some of its members disaffected, and who refused to put the laws into execution against Conventicles; by which they promoted and kept up sedition among the people; while they with all humility prostrated themselves, and laid the benefit they had in their Charter, and the franchises of his Town and Port of Dover at his Royal feet. . . . . To convince the King how

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zealous and active they were in his interest, they assured him they had already convicted Nicholas Cullen, the late pretended Mayor, and William Stokes, their Chief Magistrate; and that they had indicted some others for similar offences.

"The Grand Jury at a Special Sessions of '*Oyer and Terminer*,' held by the Admiralty Court on 29th April, 1682, agreed also to address the King. They assured him 'how sensible they were of the unparalleled happiness they enjoyed under his mild Government; and they congratulated him against the hellish plot and contrivances invented to oppose his authority; but more especially for his detecting the traitorous project for association in the proceedings of the Earl of Shaftesbury; and such proceedings, they said, carried in them the very quintessence of rebellion.'

"They continued in the same strain for some time, and then they offered his Majesty their most sincere thanks for placing his royal brother, their late Warden, High Commissioner of Scotland.

"The Court of Brotherhood assembled at Romney in 1683, declared in their Address to the King that they thought it their duty to offer him their loyal and thankful obedience, as the first-fruits of their Assembly, after a discontinuance of their meetings for many years. They further assured the King of their great attachment to his person, and of their gratitude for his mild Government, and that they detested all opposition to the Laws and separation from the Church, as a sin against God; and to complete all, they were ready to offer up their lives in defence of his person.

"These Addresses, and the surrender of their Charter, saved the Attorney General the trouble of prosecuting the '*Quo Warranto*;' and as the Addresses seemed as pliable as wax in the hands of an artist, and as capable of being moulded into whatever form they wanted, the King granted them a new Charter.

"This Charter was drawn up on the plan of 1578; and notwithstanding it gave the Magistrates the privilege of continuing in their offices for life, it met with the same fate as most of those granted by Charles II.; for it was disowned by the persons who obtained it, or by their successors.

"The King had reserved to himself the privilege of dismissing

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at pleasure all those whom he had placed in authority; but this was considered by the Lawyers (*temp.* William and Mary) an illegal and unconstitutional stretch of his power; and in their language, he was '*deceived in his Grant;*' and his Charter, though not void, was voidable if controverted.

"On the arrival of King William III. the Magistrates did not refer to the new Charter, but pleaded their right of prescription to act as a Corporation," &c.

By the Minutes of Assembly it appears that Messrs. Nicholas Cullen and William Stokes, and their friends remained in office till the surrender of the Charter.

Captain Stokes was elected Mayor on the 8th September, 1683. From that date a blank of several pages occurs in the Minute Book, and then is written:—

"1684.

"George West, Esq., Mayor.

"At a Common Assembly held on 25th August, 1684,

"Present—George West, Esq., Mayor;

"JURATS,

"Thomas Tiddeman	Aaron Wellard
Thomas Wool	Warham Jemmett
Nathl. Denew	Samuel Lucas
Robert Jacob	Clement Burke

"COMMON COUNCILMEN,

"Thomas Russell	Robert Gallant
Peter Peters	Robert Colloy
Thomas Bedingfield	Edward Pitts
Benjamin Hawkins	John Gardner
George Wellard	Charles Gill
Benjamin Godwyn	Thomas Statfold
John Holland	William Elwin
Robert Hogden	Robert Kennett
Thomas Gibbon	Richard Edwards, Jun.
Richard Hills	Eleazor Shewnall"

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In the autumn of 1688, James II. having discovered too late the folly of the course he had been led to adopt, set to work to court the Country Party, and restored the displaced members of Corporations, including those of Dover. Hence we find the following Minutes in the Assembly Book of Dover:—

"At an Assembly of the Mayor and Jurats held in the Guildhall on Monday, the 17th September, 1688, appeared—Robert Jacob, Esq., Mayor, George West, Thomas Tiddeman, Edward Roberts, Thomas Veel, and Nathl. Denew, Esquires; Thomas Nowell, Warham Jemmett, Samuel Lucas, Clement Burke, John Golden, and William Smith, Jurats, the following Order was produced and read, viz.:—

"*Lo. Sigill.* "At the Court at Windsor the 9th September, 1688:

"By the King's most excellent Majesty and the Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council,

"Whereas by the Charter granted to the Town and Port of Dover it is reserved to his Majesty by his Order in Council to remove from their employment any officers in the said Town, his Majesty in Council is pleased to order, and it is hereby Ordered that Robert Jacob, Mayor, and Warham Jemmett, George West, Clement Burke, John Golden, and William Smith, Jurats; Benjamin Goodwyn, Robert Osborne, and George Wellard, Common Councilmen, be and they are hereby removed and displaced from their employments and offices in the said Town of Dover.

"(Signed) EDWARD ROBERTS, Mayor.
" WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN."

On the 20th September, 1688, Edward Roberts, Esq., was elected Mayor for the year ending 8th September, 1689; but soon after we find the following entry in the Minute of Assembly:—

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"William Stokes, Esq., Mayor. 1688.

"In the Guildhall on the 25th October, 1688, in the fourth year of the reign, &c.

"Memorandum—That William Stokes, Esq., Mayor of this Town and Port, Dr. John Golder, Captain George West, Messrs. William Richards, John Bullarke, Nicholas Cullen, John Vaylie, Thomas Scott, Edward Franklyn, and Edward Wivell, Jurats of the same, did on the said 25th of October, 1688, pursuant to his Majesty's gracious and Royal Proclamation this day publicly proclaimed in the Market Place of the said Town, enter into and upon the Government of this Corporation and the power and places of Mayor and Jurats thereof, took possession of the said Guildhall with the Ensign of the White Staff of Mayoralty, which the said Mayor took up accordingly."

On the 26th October, 1688, William Stokes, Esq., Mayor, Thomas Scott, Edward Franklyn, and Edward Wivell, took the Oaths, &c.; and on the 29th October, Dr. John Golder, and Messrs. William Richards, John Bullarke, Nicholas Cullen, and John Vaylie did likewise.

A private M.S. mem. among Papillon's papers contains the following statement:—

"Soon after the verdict against him [meaning Thomas Papillon*] the town of Dover surrendered their Charter, viz., 24th October, 1683. At a Common Council they ordered the Mayor, Mr. Stokes, to carry their Address to the King, and with an unanimous consent submitted to his Majesty's pleasure, when the same shall be known, in all matters relating to the '*Quo Warranto*' brought against them, and that Mr. Mayor take advice of Mr. Secretary

* The verdict here mentioned was not really against Thomas Papillon, but against Thomas Pilkington, Samuel Shute, and others who had been instrumental in the Return of himself and John Dubois as Sheriffs of London and Middlesex; which Return was disallowed by the Mayor, and Pilkington, Shute, &c., were convicted of a Riot. See "State Trials," 8th May, 1683.

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Jenkins, or Mr. Attorney General, what course to take in the management thereof, but the Mayor is not to cause further prosecution to be made in defence of the said Quo Warranto.

"They likewise submitted to the recommendation of his Majesty, as Lord Warden, of one person to be chosen as Baron to serve in the next Parliament, whenever his Majesty shall please to call one, and as much as in them lies, will accept thereof."

Soon after the surrender, Thomas Papillon met Captain Stokes in London, and expressed his surprise how he could so readily abandon the Charter and its privileges, which they had repeatedly sworn to defend. Captain Stokes replied that no one would expend one shilling in the cause.

In reviewing the whole case, as regards Thomas Papillon, we are struck with his strong and inherent love of justice and liberty, and his earnest efforts to secure these treasures for the Borough of Dover; and though he failed at the time, and in little more than a year became an exile himself—his principles triumphed at last, and in him was fulfilled the promise

"He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."—Psalm cxxvi.

The active part taken by Sir Lionel Jenkins in these and other proceedings, which infringed or tended to infringe the rights of the subject, call for a few lines on his history and character.

Individually he seems to have been a man of high integrity and honour, and possessing much regard for religion; but when exalted to the post of Secretary of

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State, his excessive sense of loyalty and obedience to the Crown led him into many acts which his better judgment would have condemned. The King knew this man.

The following sketch is taken chiefly from the "*Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins*," by William Wynne, of the Middle Temple (his relative and admirer). London, 1724.

"Born 1625. Son of Leoline Jenkins, or Jenkins Lluellin, of the parish of Llanbithian, Glamorganshire; a man of about £40 a year. Mr. David Jenkins, one of the Judges of North Wales, and a famous champion of the Royal cause, patronized him, and recommended him to Dr. Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College, Oxford. Sir Lionel Jenkins went to school at Cowbridge, and in 1641, when not quite sixteen, he was admitted to Jesus College, Oxford, of which Dr. Mansell, a learned and virtuous man, and staunch Royalist, was the Principal; but both Principal and loyal Student were soon obliged to flee, and the latter took up arms on the Royal side. On its collapse in 1648 he became Tutor to the sons of various loyal gentlemen, and afterwards visited several countries of Europe with them.

"But on the Restoration he returned to Jesus College, and was at once elected a Fellow. On Dr. Mansell's resignation soon after, he was chosen Principal; and with prudence and much pains he set about to restore the College to discipline and competence, from which it had sadly fallen of late years. Dr. Mansell generously settled on it the remains of his estate; and Dr. Jenkins followed his example by remembering it in *his* will.

"He remained Principal till 1673, when he was called away to act as Ambassador at Cologne.

"He was appointed Commissary of the peculiar and exempt Jurisdiction of the Deanery of Bridgenorth, Salop;

"Registrar of the Consistory Court belonging to the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's, Westminster; and soon after—by Dr. Sheldon—to be Commissary for the Diocese of Canterbury; and

"Assessor of the Chancellor's Court, Oxford.

"He was a truly virtuous, industrious, and Godly man; an

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ardent lover of learning; well-read in Canon and Civil Law; and a good linguist in French, Latin, &c.

"In 1663, he was admitted to Doctors' Commons, and to practice in the Court of Arches; and very soon he was made Deputy to the Dean of Arches, who was aged and feeble.

"On the first Dutch War breaking out the King appointed a new kind of Commission, consisting of the Lords of the Privy Council, viz., *The Admiralty Court;* and the Commissioners called on Dr. Jenkins *to compile a body of Rules and Ordinances by which the Judge of the Court should adjudicate on Prizes.* On the 21st March, 1664, Dr. Jenkins was appointed 'Assistant' to Dr. Exton, the 'Judge,' and on Dr. Exton's death, not long after, he was made sole Judge.

"In these capacities he became very eminent as a Juris-Consult, and noted for his integrity and sound judgment. He was also tender and compassionate towards prisoners, and often remitted his own legal fees.

"In 1668, he was made Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the recommendation of the King.

"In 1669, he was appointed Commissioner, jointly with Mr. Montague, the Ambassador at Paris, *to reclaim the effects of the Queen Mother Henrietta*, in which he finally succeeded; and on his return to England he was knighted.

"During his stay in Paris he defended the religious character of Charles I. from a charge of infidelity brought against him by Father Senault in his Funeral Oration of him, as the only assignable cause for the afflictions which he suffered by Divine Providence.

"In 1669, or early in 1670, he was appointed a Commissioner for the Union of England and Scotland.

"In 1671, he was returned as Member of Parliament for Hythe, Kent—one of the Cinque Ports.

"In May, 1673, he was appointed Ambassador and Plenipotentiary at Cologne, together with Lord Sunderland and Sir Joseph Williamson, to arrange a Treaty of Peace with Holland, after the Second Dutch War. He returned home in 1674.

"At the end of 1675, or early in 1676, he was sent as Ambassador, &c., to Nimeguen, to act in conjunction with Lord Berkley,

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Ambassador at Paris, and Sir William Temple, Ambassador at the Hague; and in this post he ever exerted himself to maintain the honour due to his King and Country."

Of his conduct there Sir William Temple says in his "Memoirs":—

"Two more different men were never joined in one Commission, nor agreed better in it: As in evening entertainments or collations, in dancing or play, I seldom failed of taking a part, so my colleague, Sir Lionel Jenkins never had any in them—which gave occasion for a good *mot* that was passed on it—'That the mediation was always on foot,' for I went to bed and rose late, while Jenkins was a bed by eight and up at four."

"He was punctual," says Wynne, "in keeping to his instructions, where he was limited; wary and cautious where he was left free."

He refused most persistently to receive presents, especially those of Louis XIV., after the Treaty of Nimeguen; while Sir William Temple received all, as was usual in those days.

In March, 1681, he was elected Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford, and in 1680-1, he had been appointed Secretary of State.

In this latter position, Burnett says of him:—

"Jenkins, now made Secretary of State in Coventry's place, was the chief manager for the Court [against the Exclusion Bill]. He was a man of exemplary life, and considerably learned; but he was dull and slow. He was suspected of leaning to Popery, though very unjustly; but he was set on every punctilio of the Church of England to superstition, and was a great assertor of the Divine Right of Monarchy, and was for carrying the prerogative high. He neither spoke nor wrote well; but being eminent for the most courtly qualifications, other matters were the more easily dispensed with. All his speeches and arguments against the Exclusion were heard with indignation; so the bill was brought in."

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This sketch may be seasonably concluded with a *précis* of Sir Lionel Jenkins' "*Disquisition on the Condition of Affairs in 1680-1*," as given also by his Biographer:—

"The Acts of Law and Justice are,

"1.—The securing Religion from Atheism, Profaneness, and Immorality.

"2.—The punishing offenders against the Law, relating to public or private Right indifferently, without respect of Persons.

"3.—Seeing that the Laws themselves be not a snare or burden to the Subject.

"Secondly—What amendments discretion of policy may require in the present future of Affairs?

"There are three Parties in this Kingdom to be considered,—

"1—The Church of England. 2—The Nonconformists. 3—The Papists.

"The last cannot be accounted, without contradicting the established laws, irritating the whole body of the Nation, and ruining all.

"As to the Second Party they are now numerous; but will they, who cannot be governed now they have no power, be more easily governed when they have a share in the power and Government of the Nation? Can any method be found to unite and cement them to the Church of England?

"The things most to be apprehended are—A Commonwealth, Popery, and a lasting war about the Succession.

"A Commonwealth—if the Factions on foot prevail; Popery—if the Duke succeed; and a lasting War—if he be excluded.

"People generally would reprobate most: 1—Popery. 2—War. 3—A Commonwealth. But the latter cannot be established but by the grossest injustice.

"Query—Will the Duke recant?"

Sir Lionel Jenkins pleaded against the Quo Warranto on the Corporation of London, deeming it a very inexpedient and harsh measure.

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CHAPTER X.

ACQUITTAL OF THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY BY THE GRAND JURY OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

Circumstances leading to the arrest of Lord Shaftesbury—The character of the Witnesses against him—The Grand Jury—The Judge's Charge—Demurs on the part of the Jury—Finding—Incidental remarks by Papillon on the printed report of the case—and of his own part in the matter.

HEN Charles II., supported by the Cabal, engaged in the base alliance with France—1670-72—the upright and venerable Duke of Ormond was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and a Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs: The King was at once induced to remove him from the latter post, and soon after from the former; but with gravity and decorum he still paid stated visits at Court, and never espoused violent counsels.

In 1677, the King, repenting of his harsh treatment of so loyal and able a servant, reinstated him as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland;* where he ruled with such moderation and vigilance, that Protestants and Roman Catholics alike were contented and prosperous.

The Country Party who had so ardently espoused the fiction of the Popish Plot, and wondered at its explosion—could not understand this peaceful state of Ireland,

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* "By long forbearing is a prince persuaded; and a soft tongue breaketh the bone."—Proverbs xxv. 15.

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where Roman Catholics were in a large majority—and in 1680-1 some of the leaders personally averse to Ormond, first attacked his Government of Ireland in the House of Lords; and on that failing, through the splendid defence of Ormond's gallant son Lord Ossory, they sent spies to Ireland to search for arms and papers, and offered rewards for information of sedition.

At length some informants appeared; the Oxford Parliament received their tales; and the peaceable Oliver Plunket, Roman Catholic Archbishop (and Primate) of Ireland fell a victim to their evidence.

But when Parliament was suddenly dissolved, and the Court Party became masters, these informants veered round, and brought charges of Treason against the Earl of Shaftesbury, the leader of the Country Party.*

He was at once committed to prison, and brought to trial in the City of London, as recorded in the "*State Trials.*"

The Grand Jury on the occasion consisted of twenty-one members, including Sir Samuel Barnadiston, Foreman; Thomas Papillon, and his old friend Michael Godfrey.

The Judge to try the case was Lord Chief Justice Pemberton. He specially charged the Jury to find a "True Bill," or otherwise, simply according to the evidence that might be adduced, without regard to its credibility:—the judgment of that he said, being the province of the Petty Jury; and he further required in the King's name, that the witnesses should be examined in open Court.

The Jury strongly objected to this latter course, as contrary to custom, and liable to defeat the ends of

* Hume's "England."

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justice; and Papillon argued against it; but the Lord Chief Justice over-ruled their objections, and they submitted.

The witnesses were first examined in Court by the Crown Lawyers—Sir Francis Wythens chiefly—and that ended, Papillon plainly told the Lord Chief Justice

"If we are not left to consider the credibility of the Witnesses, we cannot satisfy our consciences."

The Lord Chief Justice replied that if they personally knew any thing against them they might act on it; and to this the Jury assented.

The Grand Jury then cross-examined the witnesses one by one; the Foreman, Godfrey, and especially Papillon taking lead in the matter; and the Lord Chief Justice occasionally interposing.

This concluded, the Jury returned a verdict of "*Ignoramus*," and thus Lord Shaftesbury was set free.

Law and History have alike approved of the Finding; deeming that it would have been wrong to send to trial one arraigned on base evidence; but the Court Party who urged the suit, and felt they had secured their relentless foe, were much incensed at the result; following, as it did, a similar acquittal of poor Colledge, "*the Protestant Joiner*," of London; a noisy fellow whom the Government, bent on judgment, sent to Oxford, the scene of his alleged offences, and there obtained his conviction!

The trial occurred on the 24th November, 1681; and in April, 1682, the following remarks were incidentally made by Thomas Papillon, when discoursing with the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, relative to the coming election of Sheriffs. The remarks appear in an autograph account of it by Thomas Papillon:—

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"I was saying that it was a great evil when Magistrates did not consider things, but looked on persons and judged of things by persons, whereas justice ought to regard the matter, and not the persons.

"As I was saying something of this nature, the Chaplain or Parson comes in, and replies upon me, 'Mr. Papillon, did you not look on persons in the trial of my Lord Shaftesbury?'

"I answered, 'Sir, I suppose you cannot think it proper for me to argue that matter with you or any person living; I did therein discharge my conscience on my oath to God, the King, and Country, and that is sufficient. We had the Laws, the Indictment, the Evidence all before us, and I will not give an account upon what we went, and what induced us to give our Verdict.'

"My Lord said the Parson was at the trial, and that he did own that we did right upon the whole matter.

"The Parson acknowledged the same, but said, 'Had the Witnesses been credible persons, they swore enough to have found the Bill, and brought the matter to trial.' I answered, 'That was his opinion, but I would not tell him what was mine, nor upon what we went.'

"I said there were many mistakes in the printed book of that trial, both as to questions asked by the Jury, and as to what the Witnesses said—for instance, it said, 'We asked whether this paper, or the Association in this paper was read in the House of Commons, whereas no such question was asked. The Parson said, 'No, it was whether there was not debate or discourse in the House of Commons about an Association.' 'Yes,' said I, 'it was so; and whether the Act about the Association in Queen Elizabeth's time was not read.'

"Another thing, one of the Witnesses said, 'My Lord Shaftesbury was *sorry* the King did not see his own danger,' and in the printed book, it is, 'He was *glad* the King did not see his own danger,' which is very different.

"I said there were many other mistakes in the printed relation, though it was said to be published by authority; yet no person owning it, we did not trouble ourselves about it, but satisfied ourselves in having faithfully discharged our consciences.

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"Then I took leave, and my Lord ——— accompanied me to the gate."

In February, 1683, the Foreman, Sir Samuel Barnadiston, was tried for a misdemeanour on account of having in three private letters decried the Popish Plot, and predicted as probable an early change in the King's surroundings, especially the restoration to office of the Duke of Monmouth, &c. He was convicted, and sentenced to a fine of £10,000!*

In November, 1684, Thomas Papillon as Defendant in an action for False Arrest incurred the indirect censure of the Judge respecting "*Ignoramus* Juries." He also was sentenced to a fine of £10,000!

And Wilner, Foreman of the Grand Jury which acquitted Colledge, was soon after tried on a charge of "*Replegiando Hominem*," for having sent abroad on business a lad in his employment.†

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* See "State Trials."

† See Sir — Hawle's Remarks on certain Trials, published in "State Trials."

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CHAPTER XI.

ELECTION OF SHERIFFS FOR THE CITY OF LONDON—ARREST OF THE LORD MAYOR—PROSECUTION.

Origin and course of the conflict between Court and Country Parties in the City, 1680 to 1682—Election of a Court Party Mayor obtained in 1681—Conversation of Papillon with Lord Mayor in April, 1682, relative to approaching Election of Sheriffs—Roger North on the situation—Dudley North's previous career and character—The Court resolves on the Election of Roger North as Sheriff—the Freemen of the City on that of Papillon and Dubois—The Lord Mayor nominates North—the Common Hall reject his Nomination—Legal opinions on the case—Adjournment of the Hall ignored by the Sheriffs, who proceed with the Poll—they are committed to the Tower—The King in Council requires a new Election—two Polls with opposite results—The Lord Mayor declares in favour of North and Box as the new Sheriffs—Box fines off—A new Hall—Attendance and action of Train Bands in Guildhall—The Lord Mayor's assumed indignation at conduct of Country Party—Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Clayton deny his charges—Papillon and Dubois present a declaration claiming to be sworn in—the Lord Mayor refuses to receive it, or to attend to the remonstrances of Aldermen—Proceedings at Law—the Lord Mayor refuses to give an appearance—he is arrested at the instance of Papillon and Dubois, and consents to an appearance—He summons Papillon before the Court of Aldermen, to account for his conduct—Papillon is much abused by some of the Court—he calmly defends the course taken—Prosecution and conviction of the two Ex-Sheriffs—real object of their trial—In consequence of the result, Papillon and Dubois withdraw their suit against the Lord Mayor—"*Quo Warranto*" against the City's Charter—Rye House Plot—Song on the loss of the Charter—Sir William Pritchard, the Lord Mayor, sues Papillon for false and malicious arrest, and obtains a verdict for £10,000—Papillon retires to Holland—Efforts of relatives and friends to obtain his release from the Judgment—he refuses to compromise his course of action—On change of Politics in Court of James II., 1688, Sir William Pritchard gladly releases Papillon.

THROUGHOUT life Thomas Papillon had resisted the exercise of arbitrary and unjust power. 1—In opposing the action of Fairfax's Army with regard to the Parliament and London in 1647. 2—In the matter of the government of the French Church in London. 3—In resisting the exactions of the Customs and Excise

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Courts as recorded in Chapter IV. 4—In the East India Company, as in Chapter VI. 5—On various occasions in Parliament. 6—In the trial of the Earl of Shaftesbury. And now that the Government were invading the rights of the City of London, he stood to his colours, and was drawn into the vortex which swamped many—some in death, and more in exile. Happily for the cause and Country, nay, for all Europe, and the world at large, the Revolution brought restoration, as shall the Resurrection of the just to all believers.

But though involved in politics, Thomas Papillon was not politic; and while his love of justice, and dread of Popery led him into many contests, his love of peace and high sense of loyalty often rendered the task uncongenial, and his action somewhat feeble.

In his prosecution before Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, the latter truly said of him:—

"'I know Mr. Papillon's humour so well that I am confident he would much rather have been contented to sit in his counting-house than in Guildhall in a scarlet gown. Alack-a-day, I know Mr. Papillon knows how to spend his time to better advantage to himself.' And then he proceeded to declaim against his conduct as the fruit of a common design in the City to subvert the Government; but he little knew, and less valued, the power of those Huguenot principles which had guided him through life."

In the conflict of the "Court" and "Country" parties the City of London played an important part on the side of the latter. It was the focus of the wealth, commerce, and aristocracy of the kingdom; and its proximity to the seat of Parliament and the Court, increased its influence.

Though Parties were distinctly formed, Party Government was yet far distant; and those who opposed the Court were treated as personal enemies, however loyal they might be.

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(Papillon himself had experienced this in his exclusion from the Directory of the East India Company in 1677, as mentioned in Chapter VI.)

And the City, foreseeing that its course of action might render it obnoxious to the Government, resolved in 1680 to fortify itself in the Courts of Law by the election of Sheriffs who would appoint sound Juries, both Grand and Petty; and this was the more requisite, as the Judges were not only appointed by the Crown, but were removable at its pleasure.

The conduct of the leaders in the City is thus described by Thornton in his "*History of London*," pp. 222-3, *temp.* 1680:—

"They put up and supported Slingsby Bethel and Henry Cornish, two Independents, in opposition to Box and Nicholson, who were offered by the Court: The two former having the shew of a considerable majority, and a poll being demanded on behalf of the latter, a tumult ensued, which was improved by the Lord Mayor and other devotees of the Court into a Riot. And the matter was represented to the King with such aggravating circumstances that his Majesty, the same evening, issued a Commission for the trial of the Rioters.

"This, however, was so far from deterring the Anti-Court Party that they supported the Country interest with greater spirit, and not only pursued all measures for a vigorous prosecution of the Popish Conspirators, but likewise for excluding the Duke of York from the succession.

"The King to prevent the execution of their designs, prorogued the Parliament; in consequence of which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council presented a Petition to his Majesty, representing the prejudice it would be to himself and the Nation should the Parliamentary enquiry into the late Plot be stopped and prevented, and the bad consequences that must result from their being disenabled to proceed against those Lords who had been impeached for Treason. They therefore humbly prayed

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that he would permit the Parliament immediately to sit, as the only means to quiet the minds and extinguish the fears of his Protestant people.

"This Petition gave great offence to the King, and to shew his resentment he immediately dissolved the Parliament; and writs being issued for a new Election, the Citizens exerted themselves with such diligence that on the 4th February, 1681, notwithstanding the great efforts made by the Court Party to oppose them, they re-chose their four late Representatives, viz.: Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Thomas Player, Thomas Pilkington, and William Love, Esquires.

* * * * *

"In June, 1681, the Citizens obtained another victory over the Court Party, by electing Pilkington and Shute, for Sheriffs, in opposition to others offered by the Court.

"The King soon after shewed his resentment at this; for on the 13th October, the two Sheriffs being sent with the Recorder to desire the honour of his Majesty's company at Guildhall, on the approaching Lord Mayor's Day, his answer was 'Mr. Recorder, an invitation from the Lord Mayor and City is very acceptable to me; and to shew that it is so, notwithstanding that it is brought by messengers so unwelcome to me as those two Sheriffs are, yet I accept it.'"

In giving this reply, it may be presumed the King was well aware of the victory he had obtained on Michaelmas Day, in the election of Sir John Moore as the new Lord Mayor. That event is thus described by Burnett, in his "*History of his own Times*":—

"He [Sir John Moore] was the Alderman on whom the Election fell in course. Yet some who knew him well were for setting him aside, as one whom the Court would easily manage. He had been a Nonconformist himself, till he grew so rich, that he had a mind to go through the dignities of the City; but though he conformed to the Church, yet he was still looked on, as one that favoured the Sectaries: And upon this occasion he persuaded some of their preachers to go among their congregations

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to get votes for him. Others, who knew him to be a flexible and faint-hearted man opposed his Election. Yet it was carried for him.

"The opposition that was made to his Election had sharpened him so much that he became in all things compliant to the Court, in particular to Secretary Jenkins."

Of the conduct of Jenkins in this and other matters relative to the City, Burnett says:—

"He seemed to think it necessary to bring the City to a dependence on the Court in the fairest methods he could fall on; and if these did not succeed, that then he was to take the most effectual, hoping that a good intention would excuse bad practices."

It was well known in the City that the Whig Party would again try to carry the election of Sheriffs, and it was rumoured that the Lord Mayor would seek the appointment of one of them by *drinking to him.**

Accordingly, on the 29th April, 1682, Thomas Papillon visited the Lord Mayor and conversed with him on the matter, as recorded in the following autograph M.S. And whatever opinion may be formed as to his wisdom in this step, it clearly evinced his loyalty both to the Lord Mayor and to the City, and his desire to prevent contentions, and to forestall dangers.

"29th April, 1682.—DISCOURSE WITH SIR JOHN MOORE, LORD MAYOR, ABOUT DRINKING TO A SHERIFF.

"Saturday, 29th April, 1682.—I was at my Lord Mayor's about eight of the clock and stayed till towards ten:

* This practice was first introduced in 1585, and it often met with the tacit assent of the Masters, Wardens, and Liverymen of the City Companies, with whom the choice of Sheriffs duly lay; but on various occasions this assumed right of the Lord Mayor was disputed, and on one of them the question was referred to the Judges, who gave an equivocal opinion, recommending the acceptance of the Mayor's nominee, but leaving the rights of the Freemen an open question.

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"Was carried into the Little Parlour, where my Lady sat, and continued there all the while.

"After some time spent in discourse about the East India Company affairs, and coming to speak of my wife's going into the country, I said I had a mind to accompany her, but could not tell whether I could, for I was to attend my Lord at the Bridge House audit, and so desired to know when it would be. My Lord said when the Bridge Masters were ready; he thought it would be about the 20th May.

"Hereupon I took occasion to say there was an affair that lay on my Lord's hands, that might be of great consequence to the public, and also to his Lordship: He asked 'What?' I said, 'Touching his drinking to a Sheriff.'

"If the Common Hall should not confirm the person, and his Lordship should insist on it, the dispute might occasion great inconvenience, possibly the loss of the Charter which was now in contest. His Lordship said, 'Why should not he have his freedom, as well as others?' I answered, 'No reason but he should, but there was great caution to be used, to avoid inconveniences at this juncture.' His Lordship said, 'Why, what could he do?' I answered, 'He might drink to such a person as would fine, and then the City would be left to their free choice.'

"This my Lady seemed offended with, and said it was that my Lord had been often told, and that all the Cabal (or some such word) had been upon; and said, 'What do you think my Lord is a fool?' &c. I said I was no Caballer, nor acquainted with any such, but out of respect to my Lord, as well as to the City, I was willing to discourse my Lord about it. That it was a very critical time, and a miscarriage in the manner of transacting this affair would be very evil. My Lady said, 'Why, was this a more critical time than Michaelmas Day?' I said, 'Yes, the City Charter was not then in question, and an error either on my Lord's part, or the Common Hall, in this affair might possibly be the loss of the Charter, and how fatal that might be could not be imagined.'

"My Lady said, 'Do you not know the reason why the Charter was called in question?' I said, 'No indeed, Madam, I do not

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know, and shall be glad your Ladyship will tell me?' My Lady seemed to know it, but would not inform me; so I said, 'That may be it might arise from some person giving misinformation, and aggravating matters, because they did not go exactly according to their minds.' Her Ladyship did much insist upon Michaelmas Day, and that it was a strange thing to poll for a Lord Mayor—a thing never heard of, and that if it was not against his Lordship it would not have been put up so.' I answered, 'I did never before know, indeed, of a poll for a Lord Mayor, but I had known several times that Lord Mayors had been taken out of turn; Sir Richard Ford was put by, and Sterling taken; to which it was said that Sterling had served Sheriff before the other.' I said, 'Alderman Fowke was put by four or five years.' His Lordship said, 'What great matter can there be as to one Sheriff?' I said, 'His Lordship did know there was a great matter in it, the Sheriffs being to return the Juries; and it was of great moment to have good and indifferent Juries.' His Lordship seemed to say that there had been faults in that kind on both sides. I said, 'I knew of none, and I was never but of one, which was contrary to my desire; but I did therein discharge my conscience to God, my King, and Country; and I was confident my Lord was satisfied therein,' which his Lordship said he was.

"I said, 'If his Lordship did think it amiss to drink to one that would fine, then he would do well to name a moderate man, that the City might have no disgust against.' My Lady said that people talked very extravagantly, and said such were Papists, or popishly affected, and that my Lord would drink to none but such and such—whereas my Lord had not said to whom he would drink.

"I said it was very indiscreet for any persons to talk so of any they did not know to be such, but the fault was as much on those that charged men to be disloyal, and enemies to the Government; which is as much as to say a man is forsworn, and a traitor; but I said I did not mind what many foolish indiscreet persons said.

"I told his Lordship that this prerogative of the Lord Mayor had always been contested. That in Sir Robert Clayton's time

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Mr. Hockenhul was drunk to, and not chosen, and by way of expedient the matter was accommodated; but if it was so that the dispute was not prevented, and a Resolve not to accommodate it, the consequences might be very fatal.

"I said, 'The common talk was that my Lord would drink to Mr. North or Mr. Box.' My Lady said, 'Aye, Mr. North, this is two or three day's discourse.' My Lord said, 'Mr. North, he hardly knew; he had once sold him lead, but Mr. Box he had known a long time, and seemed to speak much in his favour.'

"I said, 'As to the persons I would not say anything of them, but I thought there was some respect to be shewn to the City, and if it were my case I should never pitch on a man that they had twice refused.'

"In fine, perceiving my Lady a little warm, so that my Lord did often say to her, 'Patience,' and my Lord so resolved as not freely to discourse the matter, I said, 'All the advice that I should give his Lordship was

"That in his secret Retirements between God and his own soul he should beg of God to direct him, and then to act as he should find most for God's glory, and satisfactory to his own conscience, so that he might be able to have inward peace, and not be afraid of any thing without.' . . . . . Then I took leave and my Lord accompanied me to the gate," &c.

But Papillon was "a day after the fair," and with others of like views he incurred from the Court Party ridicule for his fears, and abuse for his interference.

The Whigs of the City were "*The Faction*," they were deemed guilty in many ways, but their crying offence was "*Ignoramus Juries*"—the monster "*Ignoramus*."

Their power to protect any whom the Court might arraign, was more than the latter could bear. Their plans for self-protection were reckoned seditious; and their motives fanatical. Each party felt it to be a life-and-death struggle, affecting themselves and the whole country; and so it proved.

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The following passages from Roger North's "*Examen*" show what was taking place at the Court side, at the time in question, pp. 600-1.

"But now, as to the fact at this time, it was from the Citizens that the Court was first admonished of this Expedient for regulating the Sheriff's office by a Revival of this ancient custom of My *Lord Mayor's Drinking*. But after it had been communicated to the King, and well considered by those about him, it was well approved of; and a resolution was taken to put it in execution, and, if possible, to carry it through. And the King was so sensible of his safety and interest in the consequence, that he resolved by himself to prove the Lord Mayor, and if he complied, to take care the Laws should defend him in it, as all agreed they would do:—And for other disorders, if any happened, that he would not be unprovided to assist the Government, and keep peace in the City.

"The Lord Mayor had been before pressed by divers of the Citizens to do it of himself; but he was scrupulous and doubtful, and would determine nothing. At length, he was sent for by the King, and in His Majesty's presence, divers of the Council, and the Attorney-General (Sir Robert Sawyer), explained his power to him, that he might nominate one Sheriff, as the Custom of the City was, though some of his immediate predecessors thought fit to waive it. And the King himself encouraged him with expressions, not only of Protection but Command; and at last, after much hesitation, he determined roundly to conform, and all at once promised the King to send his Cup to any Citizen His Majesty should nominate to him. He was slow, but sure; and what with his judgment that the City was in such a state that a Regulation was become necessary, and what with the King's promise to stand by him, together with the concurrent advice of the Court of Aldermen, who were his regular Council, he contracted a firmness of mind to pursue his point, and he made it good; but with many a hard rub and difficulty emerging, that Faction stirred up against him; as may readily be imagined by those who know the humour of abused popularity."

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When the plan of the Court became known in the City, numerous efforts were made to deter the Lord Mayor from his proposed course on the one hand, and to predict retribution in the Law Courts and Parliament, on the other. Little, alas, did most think how despotic a monarch the King would soon become!

North continues:—

"While these intimidations ran high, the Court at a loss for a good man, the Citizens as busy as bees, some persuading others, but none inclined to stand, every one wanting courage to bear the brunt,—Sir George Jeffreys the Recorder (of the City), or through him some of the Citizens, insinuated that the Lord-Keeper's brother, a Turkey Merchant, lately arrived from Constantinople, and settled in London, rich, and a single man, was every way qualified to be Sheriff at this time, in case he could be prevailed with to stand. . . . . This extremely took with the King, and soon set him at ease."*

The Lord-Keeper undertook to propose the matter to him, and prevailed; and throughout the contest took a leading part. He suggested to his brother that tenure of the office might lead to Court favour; and as to risk from prosecution for holding it on the Lord Mayor's Drinking,—

"He thought there was 'more squeak than wool'; for whatever people thought was at the bottom, if a Citizen were called upon to fill an office by the Government of the City, and obeys, where is the crime of that? But he knew also my Lord Mayor was in the right, and that his proceeding would be justified."†

Thus were Court and Bench arrayed against the Country Party, and their battle-field was the City.

The Court Champion—Dudley North—was well chosen. He was an able and successful Merchant;—a man of ready

* North's "Examen."

† North's "Life of Rt. Hon. Sir Francis North," &c.

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insight and deep penetration, fearless and prompt in action and reply, upright, jovial, and good tempered. And in addition to these gifts and graces—so useful for his new position—he had lived for twenty years under the shade of the Mosque of St. Sophia; had there done battle against Eastern knavery in the Law Courts, and outwitted his rivals on the Exchange; almost always feeing the Judges, and often employing fictitious rather than real witnesses, as the more capable at giving sound evidence. And he generally won his cause.

Thus, scruples of procedure did not trouble him; nor Constitutional Rights; nor Religious either, judging by the portrait his brother, Roger North, has left of him. The Lord-Keeper had easily led him to espouse the cause of the Court Party, and he cheerfully and warmly adopted it. In the heat of the contest he went about the City as usual, regardless of the stir, and the forebodings of his adversaries,—and thus acquired the surname of the *Blind Bayard.*

The Court was resolved on the Election of Dudley North at all practicable hazards, and directed the Lord-Keeper and the Attorney-General to be at hand at the time, so as to support the Lord Mayor in the design. Another case of Riot—such as had been said to occur in 1680—seems to have been expected. During the first day's polling various men of the Court Party swaggered about the Guildhall Yard, using offensive language, which the Voters treated with little more than silent contempt. The Sheriffs, Pilkington and Shute, on account of their persistence in carrying on the Poll after the Lord Mayor's adjournment of the Common Hall, were sent to the Tower. And finally, the Lord Mayor's declaration of the so-called Election of the Court Party Candidates, North and Rich, was made under force of arms, a Company of

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the City Militia being expressly in attendance, and acting with violence towards various Aldermen of the Country Party.

Truly, the Court's horses were *Force* and *Riot*.

The Freemen generally were resolved on electing both their own Candidates, Papillon and Dubois, and on rejecting the Lord Mayor's Nomination of Dudley North. They relied—(1) on the Charter of the City; (2) on the Law Courts; (3) on Parliament—to secure to them, through the old Sheriffs, Pilkington and Shute, their free and unfettered Election of the new ones.

Their horses were *City Rights* and *Common Hall*.

As regards the Lord Mayor, it would seem that he had bound himself to serve the Court in the matter; but his policy was never pronounced till the last moment. He generally wore the garb of *hesitation*, but never threw off *Court influence*. He began the race on his horse *Nomination*, made all the running on *Adjournment*, and finally slipped past the winning-post on *Declaration*.

On the 23rd June, the eve of the Election, a Court of Aldermen was held to consider the matter involved in the singular form of Precept which the Lord Mayor had issued to the various City Companies, viz.,—to attend at Guildhall to *Confirm his Election of one Sheriff*, and to *Elect the other*. The Recorder, Mr. Pollexfen, was called on for his opinion, and "he declared that the right of Election of both the Sheriffs lay in the Commonalty" or Common Hall, "and that the Sheriffs *pro tempore* were judges of the Poll, if there was one; in which opinion the Court universally concurred" (Thornton's "History of London," p. 224).

On the 24th June the Lord Mayor nominated North; the Common Hall indignantly rejected the Nomination, and demanded a free Election of two Sheriffs out of the four Candidates—North, Papillon, Dubois, and Box.

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The Lord Mayor tacitly assented, and the old Sheriffs forthwith set up Polling-tables; and much excitement was naturally displayed on the occasion.

The Lord Mayor and his friends seem now to have been uneasy; an Adjournment was mooted, and the opinion of the Recorder was again demanded. He supported the conduct of the Sheriffs, as similar to that on the Election of Members of Parliament. But the Attorney-General at once appeared, and controverted that view, maintaining that the Sheriffs were merely King's Officers, subject in all things to the direction of the Lord Mayor.

The latter hesitated for some time what to do. The Election was running strong in favour of Papillon and Dubois. At about 6 p.m. he sent to the Sheriffs, desiring them to stop the Polling, and to come to himself and the Aldermen. They declined at first to quit the Polling, but soon went up, and remonstrated against its disturbance;—and the Lord Mayor seemed to acquiesce. But at 7 p.m., after more hesitation, he rose up, saying "If I die, I die," he went to the Hustings, ordered the Common Cryer to adjourn the Hall, and then left.

The crowd was so great and so excited, that in descending the steps of the building, the Lord Mayor stumbled, and his hat fell off, which was magnified into personal ill-usage. And on the Common Cryer prefacing the order for Adjournment, as usual, with "God save the King!" many in the yard cried out "No, God save the Protestant Sheriffs!" Of course this was Treason itself in the eyes of the Court.

It may be well to mention that neither Papillon nor Dubois were present during the election; and further to relate the conduct of Papillon on a somewhat similar occasion two years before, as recorded in the State Trial

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of Pilkington and Shute and others: On that occasion the Common Serjeant gave evidence as follows:—

"I remember particularly when Sir Robert Clayton was Lord Mayor, it was about the choice of Mr. Slingsby Bethel and Mr. Alderman Cornish [as Sheriffs] and there was a great disturbance in the Hall; then I came into the Court, and after I had made my Report, I offered to give the paper to the Recorder that was, Sir George Jeffreys. He told me that the people would not hear him, and therefore he would not take the paper. Upon that Sir Robert Clayton said to me, 'Prithee, do thou speak to them, they will hear thee if they will hear anybody; for the Hall was in a great uproar, and they called to throw me off the hustings, and then I made answer to Sir Robert Clayton; 'Sir, it is not the duty of my office, and when I do any thing that is not my office, I shall expect particular directions.' Then saith he, 'You must tell them, I must adjourn them till Monday, because I go to the Old Bailey to try the assassinators of Arnold.' Thereupon the Hall was adjourned, and Proclamation made to depart; and my Lord Mayor attempting to go, was beat back twice or thrice, but at last they let him and the Aldermen go, and kept the Sheriffs and me till evening. At last Mr. Papillon came up to me; 'Mr. Papillon,' says I, 'I am glad to see you, you will hear reason;' says he, 'Why do you not go on with the Poll?' I told him, 'My Lord Mayor had adjourned the Hall.' Says he, 'I did not hear it before; but now you tell me so, I will go out of the Hall.' Says I, 'Sir, you will do very well to tell the Hall so;' which he did, and some went away; and further adjournments were made by the direction of my Lord Mayor."*

The order of Adjournment was imperfectly heard through the noise and clamour; but doubtless the Sheriffs were soon told of it; still they let the polling go on till eight p.m., and then they adjourned the Hall till Tuesday, the

* See "State Trials," 8th May, 1683.

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27th, according to the Lord Mayor's directions. In both the continuance of the Poll, and the Adjournment of the Hall, they felt they were quite within their proper province.

On Monday, the 26th, complaint having been made to the King and Council of the Lord Mayor having been grossly insulted, the latter, with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, were ordered to appear before them; and after examination, the Sheriffs were committed to the Tower, and orders given to the Attorney General to prosecute all encouragers and promoters of the tumult. (Thornton's "History of London," p. 225.)

On Tuesday, the 27th, with the advice of the Court of Aldermen, the Lord Mayor again adjourned the Hall to the 5th July. A Protest signed by various Citizens was entered against this adjournment, as a dangerous proceeding, and an invasion of the rights and liberties of the City, which they were all bound by oath to maintain.

On the 29th, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen published a Collection of Records relating to the Election of Sheriffs, as a Response to Statements which had been printed by the opposite party. The latter entered a Protest against the Collection as imperfect and partial.

On the 5th July, the Recorder brought word from the Lord Mayor that he was ill in bed, and that he desired the Hall to Adjourn till the 7th; but the Hall, feeling that the Lord Mayor had no power to Adjourn them till the Election was complete, refused to be Adjourned, and completed the Election; and the Sheriffs declared it to have fallen on Papillon and Dubois.* The polling being as follows, viz.:—

* That the Sheriffs and Common Hall had good ground for resisting the Lord Mayor's Adjournment, existed in the fact that it had been decided a few years before in the Courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench (Turner *v.* Sir Samuel Starling, Lord Mayor), that the Lord Mayor could not dismiss

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"July 5th, 1682.

"Whereas the Poll touching the Election of Sheriffs for the Cittie of London and Countie of Middx. for the yeare ensuing by sundry Adjournments hath beene continued from Saturday, June the 24th last past unto this present day, And whereas Proclamacon hath beene made, and due attendance given to take the same accordingly, Now upon the casting up, and adjusting the Bookes wherein the same was taken, it doth appeare,

	Votes
"For Dudley North, Esq.	1552
„ Thomas Papillon	2750
„ John Dubois	2706
„ Mr. Ralph Box	1606

"Whereby the Election is fallen upon the said Thomas Papillon and John Dubois, Wee doe therefore desire according to the Act of Common Councell for that purpose made That Proclamacon be made in the Court of Hustings That the said Thomas Papillon and John Dubois doe come forth and take the said Office of Sheriffs upon them, upon the Penaltyes in the said Act menconed.

"Tho. Pilkington,
"Saml. Shute."

On the 7th July, many of the Court of Aldermen felt that the Election declared by the Sheriffs must be set aside by law, before it could be ignored; whereupon it was suggested that the matter should be argued before them by Counsel; the Country Party called on Pollexfen and Williams; and the Court Party on Sir George Jeffreys and Saunders, both of whom were engaged in the *Quo Warranto* against the Charter. On the opinion of the latter, backed, it is said, by a letter from a Minister of State, the Lord Mayor again adjourned the Hall to the 14th July.

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the Common Hall without the consent or against the will of the electors;—Sir Matthew Hale remarking that "if my Lord Mayor were allowed such a privilege, it would directly tend to the subversion of all the privileges of the City." This was in respect of the election of a Bridgemaster.—Ralph's "History of England," vol. I., p. 691.

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On the 13th, the King in Council sent for the Lord Mayor, told him that the past proceedings were null and void; that the promoters would be prosecuted for a *Riot*, and severely punished; and that he must return to the City, and commence the Election *de novo;* and an order to that effect was drawn out, and delivered to the Mayor.

"C. R.

"At the Court at Whitehall, the 13th of July, 1682; Present, The King's Most Excellent Majestie, &c.

"His Majestie having been informed by the Lord Mayor and divers of the Aldermen of London, That the Disorders and Riots arisen in that City upon the day appointed for the Election of Sheriffs have been chiefly occasioned by the Proceedings of the Common Hall in an irregular way, contrary to what hath been anciently accustomed;

"His Majestie by the advice of his Council hath thought fit for the better keeping of the peace of the City, to direct, and hereby to require the Lord Mayor to maintain and preserve entire the ancient customs of the City.

"And for the better doing thereof, to take effectual order that at the Common Hall to be held to-morrow, all proceedings be begun anew, and carried on in the usual manner, as they ought to have been upon the 24th day of June last."

On the 14th July, the Common Hall being again assembled, the Lord Mayor caused the King's Order to be read, and the people listened respectfully. Some requested that the Act of Parliament of 7 Charles I., declaring the interposition of the Privy Council in Civil causes and matters to be contrary to the laws of the land, might be read; but this the Lord Mayor refused, nor would he allow various questions to be put.

By advice of the Court of Aldermen, he declared Dudley North to be Sheriff-Elect; but the Hall rejected it, and demanded a poll for the election of both the Sheriffs. To

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this the Lord Mayor agreed, and books were accordingly prepared by the Town Clerk; but the hour being late, the Election was deferred till the next day.

On the 15th, the Lord Mayor renewed his assent to the election of both Sheriffs; and the old Sheriffs, with the approval of the Common Hall, proceeded. But before long, the Common Serjeant and others told them they had the Lord Mayor's order to conduct it themselves; and accordingly they opened separate books, and refused to poll for more than one Sheriff.

This change on the part of the Lord Mayor, it is said was due to a letter from Secretary Jenkins.

At about 6 p.m. the Sheriffs, having finished their poll, demanded the Common Serjeant's books, so that both sets might be cast-up, but he refused to deliver them; so they cast-up their own alone, viz.:—

"For Dudley North	107
„ Papillon	2487
„ Dubois	2480
„ Box	173"

And—

"Against Confirmation of North	2414"

In the Common Serjeant's Books were—

"For Box	1180
„ Papillon	—
„ Dubois	—"

In the evening the Sheriffs came on the Hustings, and declared the number of votes taken by them; and then went up to the Lord Mayor, who with some Aldermen came down. But what was there whispered by the Common Serjeant could not be called a publishing of

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anything, few having heard a word of what was said. But it proved, eventually, to be the Lord Mayor's *Declaration* of the Election of North and Box!!

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen having withdrawn, the Sheriffs declared to the Common Hall that their Election had fallen on Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois; and so the Hall dissolved.

Before long Box fined off, being unwilling to encounter actions-at-law for service on undue Election; but, as the new Sheriffs must be sworn in on the 28th September, a Common Hall was summoned on the 19th, to supply the vacancy. The proceedings on the occasion are recorded in a M.S. found among Papillon's papers, as follows:—

"Tuesday, y^e^ 19th Sept., 1682.—There being a Common Hall between 10 and 11 of the clock, the Mayor and about thirteen of his Aldermen came down upon the Hustings, and the Common Cryer began to make Proclamation in words to this purpose, viz.:—'Ye good men of the Livery summoned to appear here this day to chuse a Sheriff'——Upon which almost the whole Hall cried out, 'No, no!' and some said, 'We have chosen Sheriffs already!' which cries continued very long and loud; and if the Common Cryer did say anything further, it was with so low a voice, and the cry so great, that those that were before him heard it not; but the Lord Mayor and Aldermen presently withdrew. Upon which divers called for the Sheriffs to come forward on the Hustings; but the Common Serjeant appearing with a paper in his hand, offered to speak; but the Hall would not hear him, and continued to cry out, 'Away with the Common Serjeant! let the Sheriffs come forth!' And accordingly they did, as soon as room was made for them. Then they were required to put this question—'As many of you as are of opinion that Thomas Papillon and John Dubois, Esqrs., are legally chosen Sheriffs of London and the County of Middlesex for the year ensuing, and will abide by that choice, hold up your hands!' to which almost the whole Hall expressed their consent by lifting up their hands, and loud acclamations; then was the same

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question put in the negative, to which there were very few hands. Notwithstanding, the Poll was demanded upon the question; then did the Sheriffs put a question to this purpose, Whether it were the pleasure of that Hall that the present Sheriffs should manage that Poll and the rest of the business of the Common Hall, which question was also put in the Negative, but carried in the Affirmative almost unanimously. Then the Sheriffs told the Hall that they would acquaint my Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen what they had done; and accordingly they went up, and soon after, my Lord Mayor and his Aldermen came down upon the Hustings, upon which the Poll upon the aforesaid question was demanded of his Lordship, and his Lordship seeming to take no notice of it, Mr. Canterill went out of the Pitt, crossed the Hustings to his Lordship's chaire, and told him the aforesaid question as it had been put, and that he had demanded a Poll upon the Sheriffs, and told him that if his Lordship claimed any Jurisdiction there, he did likewise demand the Poll of his Lordship; but his Lordship not answering, he askt him again whether he did grant the Poll, but obtaining no answer, he asked him again whether he denied the Poll, but he answered nothing at all. Now the Common Serjeant came forward with a paper in his hand, as if he would have said something; but if he did speak at all, those that stood just before him and beside him did not hear him speak one word; upon which some few people behind him shouted, and threw up their hats; upon which y^e^ Lord Mayor and his Aldermen withdrew, and the Sheriffs adjourned y^e^ Poll for an hour; and afterwards some persons in the Hall told us that Peter Rich, Esq. was chosen Sheriff.

"Sir Thomas Player,
"Mr. Juckes,
"Mr. Rulle,
"Mr. Cockerill."

Thus the opposing parties pursued their respective ends; the one on regal power and silent contempt, the other on Civil Rights noisily proclaimed.

Roger North, in his "*Examen*," charges the Earl of Shaftesbury with having, when in power, promoted an

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undue lowering of the City franchise, in favour of the Country Party, and of what he is pleased to term "Ignoramus Juries;" and certainly the popular element was very manifest in the Election; but the autocratic element appeared even as strongly on the other side, to the subversion of legal rights.

And now nothing remained to complete the play, but for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to swear in their own Sheriffs under a guard of the City Trained Bands, and in face of the protest of those elected by the people.

This occurred on the 28th September. A party of the Trained Bands had been placed in and about Guildhall on the previous night; and in the morning Papillon and Dubois proceeded thither, escorted by their friends, Aldermen Sir John Lawrence, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Patience Ward, Sir John Shorter, and Mr. Cornish.

On arrival they were politely allowed to pass in, but on the Colonel in command coming on the scene, he forced them away from the Hustings end of the Hall, meeting their remonstrances by the assertion of orders from the Lieutenancy—in other words from the Mayor.

On the entry of the Lord Mayor the said Aldermen followed him into the Council Chamber, and took with them Papillon and Dubois.

My Lord Mayor at once exclaimed:—

"Gentlemen, here are fine doings, to go and swear Sheriffs, and I not present!"

Sir John Lawrence replied:—

"Whoever told your Lordship so misinformed your Lordship; we came very peaceably to the Hall to perform our duty, and know well what it is to administer an Oath, and had not the slightest intention of such a thing, but to lay our claim by presenting Sheriffs."

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Sir Robert Clayton also told his Lordship *he ought to be angry with those that had given him false information, rather than with those he was misinformed of; and that nothing was intended or designed contrary to his Lordship's frequent and public Declaration, which was that the matter should be determined by Law; and it was advised that could not be done, unless Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois did present themselves to be sworn.*

Whereupon his Lordship seemed to rest satisfied; and immediately the rest of the Aldermen, with the other Sheriffs, coming in, Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois presented themselves to his Lordship, and Mr. Papillon read a paper,* the contents whereof were as follows:—

"To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen: The humble Declaration of Thomas Papillon, Mercer, and John Dubois, Weaver, Citizens of London.

"Our absence in the Country on Midsummer day last, and for some time before and since, and our being personally strangers to, and no way appearing or concerning ourselves with, any of the transactions or proceedings then or since used in the Choice of Sheriffs for this Honourable City and County of Middlesex for the ensuing year, would have excused our attendance upon your Lordship and this Honourable Court at this time, and upon this occasion, had we not been informed by divers, that by the Suffrages of the majority of the Citizens in Common Hall, We were, and stand duly elected Sheriffs for this City and the County of Middlesex for the ensuing year.

"Now though our personal unacquaintance with the Proceedings used in that affair hath been such, and that we have not received any Intimation or Command concerning the same from your Lordship or this Honourable Court, whereby we might have had

* This Declaration was prepared by Papillon's Son-in-law, Edward Ward, Barrister, who became Attorney-General in March, 1693, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer in June, 1695. The M.S. is among Papillon's papers.

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an opportunity of declaring ourselves either ready to accept or desirous to be excused from that office, as hath been usual in former cases of the like nature; yet in regard of the aforesaid Information, and that the time for such Declaration, as well as for any further Election, is now elapsed, and not knowing of what consequence it may be to us, nor what inconveniences or hazard we might be obnoxious or exposed unto, if we should continue silent or passive in that affair;

"Therefore, for the avoiding all prejudices and inconveniences, we have thought it a duty incumbent on us to appear at this time before your Lordship and this Honourable Court, not to debate or question any of the proceedings or transactions in this matter, nor officiously to court an office so chargeable in itself, and so inconvenient to us; but, as being Citizens of London, and so under obligation to serve the King and country, when duly called thereto; and desirous to excuse ourselves from all imputation of crime or neglect of duty that might be charged upon us; we do with all submission hereby declare unto your Lordship and this Honourable Court that we are ready and do now tender ourselves to take upon us the office of Sheriffs for the City of London and County of Middlesex for the ensuing year, and to be sworn and admitted into that office according to our Election; and in order thereunto, to attend your Lordship and the Aldermen to the Hustings, or elsewhere, and either there or in any other proper place and manner to take the oaths of the said office, and such other oaths as the Law requires, and further to do and perform whatsoever the Law or the Rights and Customs of this City require of us concerning the said office; and we humbly beg your Lordship's and the Court's answer therein.

"Guildhall, 28 September, 1682.

"THOMAS PAPILLON.
"JOHN DUBOIS."

The which having read, Mr. Papillon presented it to my Lord Mayor; but he refusing to take it, Mr. Papillon gave it to a Member of the Court, who accepted to prove the tender of themselves.

And his Lordship being pressed to take the matter into

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debate, for that the Aldermen had been summoned to a Court, he answered—*There was no business.* To which it was replied :—

"We have much to say; for the Citizens seem to be thrown out of possession of the Sheriffwick, which they have enjoyed so many ages by free election. We desire fairly to tender our Sheriffs, in order to have the business more fairly determined at Law, according to your Lordship's promise and answer to the many addresses made, that the Law should determine it; and it is the only way left us, though troublesome and chargeable. And we also desire the matter may be debated, that an answer may be given to the Sheriffs who have tendered themselves."

Sir Patience Ward then moved that the aforesaid paper, and his Lordship's refusal of it, might be recorded. Then Sir Robert Clayton whispered to his Lordship, and told him that if he took a vote of the Court, he would engage them in it, and their averseness to it ought to alarm him not to take it upon himself; upon which he did hesitate some time, but yet at length was prevailed with to go to the Hustings without further ado, taking Mr. North, and calling to Mr. Rich to go with him. Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois went along with him also, and did prepare themselves to have spoken to his Lordship and the Court on the Hustings, and so did several of the Aldermen, the Lord Mayor having declared in the Council Chamber that they might say what they had to say on the Hustings: But his Lordship would not hear them when they came thither; and the *Military Guards*, after admitting a few persons, closed again, so that the Liveries attending could not come near; and then his Lordship called Mr. North and Mr. Rich to the book to be sworn. Mr. Papillon, being on the Hustings, pressed the Lord Mayor that he might be heard; but my Lord refusing to hear

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him, Mr. Papillon presented a paper, signed by himself and Mr. Dubois, as follows, the substance of which he designed to have spoken:—

"To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the Court of Hustings, in the Guildhall, London, assembled for the Admission and Swearing the Sheriffs for the City of London and County of Middlesex for the ensuing year, this 28th of September, 1682.

"*We do here present ourselves, and are ready to take upon ourselves the Office of Sheriffs of this Honourable City of London and County of Middlesex for the ensuing year, to which as we are informed, we are chosen by the Majority of the Citizens, at the Common Hall of this City; and we are here ready, and do tender ourselves to be admitted thereunto, and to take the Oath of Office, and such other Oaths as the Law requires, and to do and perform whatsoever the Law or the Rights and Customs of this City require of us, relating to that Office.*

"But this Paper being rejected by his Lordship with great heat, it was delivered to Sir John Lawrence as an evidence of their tender; upon this Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois went to the Book with Mr. North and Mr. Rich, and Mr. Papillon laid his hand on the Book, and continued it there for some time, until the Lord Mayor and some of the Aldermen commanded them *to forbear, and to keep the Peace, and be gone;* which they complied with, and retired; having before earnestly pressed to be heard, for that they had something of importance to say; and some of the Aldermen said, 'My Lord, when we came out of the Council Chamber you said what we had to say on the subject, we might speak on the Hustings, and therefore we claim of it right to be heard;' but he refused all, and ordered the Officer to proceed in Administering the Oath to North and Rich, whereupon the duly elected Sheriffs and six Aldermen withdrew, Protesting against all the Irregular and Illegal Proceedings."*

* A M.S. account by Thomas Papillon is to the same effect; it gives fuller particulars in some points, but is not so full on the whole; as is sure to result from the narrative of only one person engaged.

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By a M.S. paper of Thomas Papillon it appears that on 27th July and 5th and 12th September, 1682, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen returned answer to various petitions which were presented to them touching the mode of conducting the Election of Sheriffs:—

"That wherein they thought they [the Lord Mayor and Aldermen] did otherwise than according to Law, the Law must judge between them: Accordingly, a Mandamus was brought against the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on the 28th November, 1682, and a Return made to it, denying that Papillon and Dubois had been duly returned as Sheriffs, and therefore refusing to comply with the Writ by swearing them into office. A Writ was taken out in Hilary Term, and the Coroner attended the Lord Mayor, Sir William Pritchard, requiring him to give an appearance; several of the Aldermen were attended in like manner; six of them said they would appear, but did not; others made some scruples, and desired the Coroner to attend on the Court of Aldermen; he attended the Court, and was asked if he came to execute them; he said, 'No, but to desire an appearance:' he asked the Court if they would indemnify him; they answered, 'No.' He told them, he hoped that in case he was troubled for not doing his duty, they would let the City Counsel defend him; they answered, 'No.'

"Another Writ was taken out the same term, but it expired, and nothing was done upon it: and in Easter Term another was brought to the Coroner."

The 24th April, 1683, at Alderman Cornish's house,

"Mr. Goodenough [Solicitor] came to Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois, and told them nothing could be done to bring the right to a fair trial unless the Lord Mayor and Aldermen would appear to the Suit, and desired orders how to proceed. It was answered by Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois that they desired the matter of right might be brought to a fair trial according to the course of law, and that what was requisite legally to be done in order thereto, he had order for, but withal they gave him an express charge to carry it with all respect to the Lord Mayor and

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Aldermen, and to go to their several houses, and desire them to order an Attorney to appear for them; and if the Coroner went with the Writ, he should acquaint them that he had express orders not to insist on bail, but to accept a note to any Attorney for an appearance.

"The Coroner granted Warrants, but went with the persons to my Lord Mayor's house; his Lordship being at dinner, he went away, and came again, and stayed till four o'clock, my Lord being engaged in hearing of causes; after his Lordship had finished, and was retired into the Little Parlour, he went to his Lordship, and acquainted him with the occasion, and desired his Lordship to give an appearance. After his Lordship had refused the same, he acquainted his Lordship that he had given Warrants to the persons thereto, who then arrested his Lordship. The Coroner stayed, and finally conducted the Lord Mayor as a prisoner to his own house."

But in about six hours came a party of the Trained Bands; the Coroner was arrested on a counter-charge, and the Lord Mayor released!

An autograph M.S. of Thomas Papillon describes the conduct of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and of their Sheriff-elect, Sir Dudley North, on the following day, and also that of Papillon and Dubois:—

"The 25th April, 1683, about eight of the clock my Lord Mayor sent an Officer to Thomas Papillon, to desire him to come to speak with his Lordship at nine of the clock; he made answer he would wait on his Lordship; accordingly he went with Mr. Peter Houblon, Mr. Samuel Swinock, and Mr. James de New. When he came, he was called in to my Lord Mayor, where was Sir Henry Tulse, Sir James Smith, Sir Dudley North, Mr. Rich, Mr. Town Clerk, and several others.

"My Lord Mayor asked whether he had given orders to arrest him. He desired his Lordship that Mr. Peter Houblon, Mr. Samuel Swinock, and Mr. James de New, that came along with him, might be called in, that there might be some persons to hear and be witness of what passed, besides those present; his Lordship thereupon gave order to call them in; which being

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done, Mr. Papillon said, 'My Lord, there was an Officer of your Lordship with me this morning, to acquaint me that your Lordship desired to speak with me; and that I might, according to my duty, shew all respect to authority, I am accordingly come to wait on your Lordship, and desire to know your Lordship's pleasure;' whereupon my Lord asked this question, 'Whether I had given orders to arrest his Lordship,' to which was answered that I had given order for process to bring the right of the Citizens to a fair trial in a peaceable and quiet way, and that I should submit and acquiesce in the determination of the Law, and that nothing was required but an appearance, or a note to an Attorney to appear. My Lord Mayor said, 'Did you give order to arrest me, and for the Officers, strangers, I know not who they were, to take me when I was about the King's business?' To which was answered, 'That if the Officers or persons employed had done any thing that was illegal, or indecent, or unbecoming them, they were to answer for that; they had express order to require no bail, but to accept an appearance.' Sir Dudley North said, 'The Writ was positively to arrest, and it was at the party's option to go to prison, or give bail, or demand the favour only of an appearance.' Thomas Papillon answered, 'He did not understand the Law, but all that was desired was an appearance, that the matter might fairly, and quietly, and peaceably be tried.'

"Then Mr. Dubois came in, and my Lord Mayor asked him Whether he had given order to arrest him. Mr. Dubois said that when the choice of Sheriffs was, he was out of town, and knew nothing but what was the common discourse; and that he might not be obnoxious for neglect, he had tendered himself for the office; and that he had lent his name to try the right of the Citizens. Sir Dudley North cried out, 'Gentlemen, pray bear witness, he saith, he hath lent his name: To whom have you lent your name? Mr. Dubois said he had given an order to an Attorney to bring the matter to an issue according to the course of Law, and if they proceeded any otherwise than in a legal course they must answer for it.' Mr. Dubois was often pressed by my Lord Mayor, by Sir Dudley North, and especially by Sir Henry Tulse, over and over again, to give a direct answer, Whether he did give direction to arrest my Lord Mayor, that

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the Writ was at his suit, &c. To all their often pressing Mr. Dubois said he could give no other answer than he had given, that he had given order to proceed in a legal course, to bring the right to a trial; and if the Officers had done any thing illegal, they were to answer for it.

"Sir Dudley North said, 'My Lord, Mr. Dubois saith he hath lent his name to the Citizens, and Mr. Papillon spoke of Citizens, which is the same thing. Pray let us know, who they mean by Citizens, whether the Body Corporate of the City or a few prowling fellows, being, they say, they have lent their names. Let us know to whom.' Mr. Papillon said, 'Sir Dudley North, I did not say I had lent my name.' 'No,' said he, 'but you spoke of Citizens.' Mr. Papillon said, 'It is notoriously known that we [meaning Mr. Dubois and himself] were out of town when the choice of Sheriffs was, and we know nothing of the affair but by common report and discourse. It is publicly known that several Citizens did make application to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. Whether Sir Dudley North means them to be *prowling fellows*, I know not; for I know not who they were; but I had seen something printed, said to be the answer of the Lord Mayor given to them.' Sir James Smith said, 'Ay, any thing may be printed; that's nothing.' Mr. Papillon said he did not say it was my Lord Mayor's answer (whether it was or not he could not tell) in which the Citizens were directed to take their course at Law; and nothing more was desired but that the right might be quietly and peaceably tried; and in order thereto, that there might be an appearance.

"Sir James Smith said some opprobrious words to Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois, that they were French or Walloon Protestants that came into this nation for refuge, and had got estates, and would overthrow the Government, and cut our throats, &c. Mr. Papillon said, 'Sir James, you do give very hard and opprobrious words, to provoke, but I will not be provoked, nor make any answer.' Sir James Smith said again, addressing himself to my Lord Mayor, 'It is true these are French or Walloon Protestants, and now there is come over a great many more of late, and in a little time they will be the same as these are.' To which my Lord Mayor replied, 'I

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hope the King will take a course to send them back again to their country.

"Then some moved that the Coroner and Mr. Goodenough might be called in before Mr. Papillon and Mr. Dubois; but my Lord said he could not stay; and so they were dismissed.

"Mr. Papillon said, 'Pray my Lord, if I may ask, did not the Officers tell your Lordship that they had order only to desire an appearance, or an order to an Attorney to appear for your Lordship?' His Lordship was not pleased to answer directly thereto, but said he had told them last term that he would not appear. Sir Henry Tulse said they did but desire an appearance of him."

Meanwhile, the Court was not idle; and within two weeks of the Lord Mayor's arrest, an action for Riot and Assault was brought by the Crown against the old Sheriffs, Pilkington and Shute, and others who had been concerned in the Election—as the King had long before threatened.

The Indictment recounted various proceedings at the Election, and especially the Adjournment by the Lord Mayor. The Counsel for the Defence pleaded that until the legality of that Adjournment was settled, they had a right to challenge the whole panel of the Jury which had been returned by Sir Dudley North. The Lord Chief Justice (Sir Edmond Saunders) over-ruled the plea, and refused a Bill of Exceptions.

In reading the report of the trial, it would seem that the guilt of the parties accused was a foregone conclusion, and the urgency of Serjeant Jeffreys, who was third Counsel for the Crown, is very striking.

Mr. Thompson, the leading Counsel for the Defence, declared at the outset that the object of the trial was really to legalize the Election as conducted by the Lord Mayor; and although the Crown Counsel denied this, they used every effort to establish the justice of the proceedings.

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The counter-evidence on this point seems to have been given in a lame and half-hearted way, as if the witnesses had spoken with halters round their necks.

The accused, fourteen in number, were all found guilty, and were sentenced to fines varying from 100 to 1,000 marks:—£70 to £700.

This decision, however, seems to have been held to be unsound security by the party now dominant in the City; for on the 6th June, 1683, in a Court of Common Council, the Committee charged with the preparation of an Act on the subject, in referring to the Act of 7 Charles I., regulating the Election of Sheriffs, speak thus:—

"We are of opinion that an addition or explanation should be made in some particulars, which seem not sufficiently provided for thereby: And we have prepared a Bill for that purpose, which we here present to this Honourable Court: And therein also the said usage of the Lord Mayor's Nomination or Election of one Sheriff is further declared, and provision made to remove all disputes that might hereafter be made touching the same, by which the peace and quiet of this City hath been of late so greatly disturbed."

And accordingly the Bill provided that the Lord Mayor's nominee should be held to be elected; and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons were to elect the other Sheriff.

This Act of Common Council was repealed and annulled by another Act on the 15th June, 1694; and in 1695 a further Act was passed, "for settling the methods of calling, adjourning, and dissolving Common Halls upon the Election of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs," &c. By this Act the management of Elections was vested in the Sheriffs; but if they should disagree it devolved on the Lord Mayor: And the power to dissolve the Common Halls summoned by the

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Lord Mayor for such Elections rested in his Lordship, "*after such Elections were made and finished, and not otherwise.*"

The Verdict and Sentence against Pilkington, Shute, and others were reversed by Parliament on the accession of William and Mary.

In consequence of the Ruling and Verdict of this trial, Papillon and Dubois were advised to discontinue the prosecution of their Suit; and accordingly on the 8th June, 1683, the former made a declaration in Court to that effect, and paid costs; Mr. Dubois having meanwhile died.

But since they began their Suit in Michaelmas term, 1682, matters had taken a serious turn; and Politics had developed into Tragedy.

The Court had no sooner secured their own Sheriffs than they set about to obtain a new Lord Mayor to their mind; and effected it only by doubtful exceptions to voters. To crown all, they brought a Writ of *Quo Warranto* against the Charter of the City; and thus, under cover of a legal process, seized her Liberties.

Discontent had long prevailed among the Whig Leaders, and some of them entertained schemes of insurrection, but resolved to wait patiently for better times. In the City, however, ardent spirits of a lower class often met together to plot treason; and finally, in the spring of 1683, Josias Keiling, the very man who had arrested the Lord Mayor, followed by Goodenough the Solicitor in the case—revealed the Rye House Plot, in which they were concerned—and soon afterwards, Lord William Russell, the Earls Essex and Howard, Algernon Sydney, and Hampden, were apprehended for treasonable conspiracy; and many were thus brought to the scaffold.

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The discovery of the Rye House Plot caused a general revulsion of feeling against the Whigs; and reconciled many to the unfair trials of Russell, Sydney, and Hampden. In those days life was evidently held comparatively cheap, as Isaiah spake to Israel, "*Your hands are full of blood.*"

At the time of the Election of Sheriffs, Lord Halifax was credited with having said, "*I see there'll be hanging, and I am resolved to hang last;*" and Duncombe, the famous Banker, that *he could not see why people should make so much fuss in the matter, for the Court only wanted to hang some nine or ten persons who were obnoxious to them.*

And as evidence of the feeling of many relative to the arrest of the Lord Mayor, to which Papillon and Dubois had been driven, and the seizure of the Charter, see the following Ballad of the day:—

"LONDON'S LAMENTATION, OR AN EXCELLENT NEW SONG ON THE LOSS OF LONDON'S CHARTER.

To the tune of "Packington's Pound."

I.

"You Freemen and Masters, and Prentices mourn,
For now you are left with your Charter forlorn:
Since London was London I dare boldly say,
For your riots you never so dearly did pay;
In Westminster Hall
Your Dagon did fall,
That caus'd you to riot and mutiny all:
Oh London! Oh London! Thou'dst better had none,
Than thus with thy Charter *to vie with the* Throne.

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2.

Oh London! Oh London! how could'st thou pretend
Against thy *Defender* thy crimes to defend?
Thy *Freedom and Rights* from kind *Princes* did spring,
And yet in contempt thou withstandest thy King:
With bold brazen face
They pleaded thy case,
In hopes to the Charter the King would give place:
Oh London! thou'dst better no Charter at all,
Than thus for Rebellion thy Charter should fall.

3.

Since Britons to London came over to dwell,
You had an old Charter, to buy and to sell;
And while in Allegiance each honest man lives,
Then you had a Charter for Lord May'r and Shrieves:
But when with your pride
You began to backslide,
And London of Factions did run with the tide,
Then London, Oh London! *'tis time to withdraw,*
Lest the flood of your Factions *the Land overflow.*

4.

When Faction and fury of Rebels prevailed;
When *Coblers* were Kings, and *Monarchs* were jailed;
When *Masters* in tumults their Prentices led,
And the Tail did begin to make war with the Head;
When Thomas and Kate,
Did bring in their plate,
T'uphold the *Old Cause* of the *Rump of the State*;
Then tell me, Oh London! I prithee now tell,
Hadst thou e'er a Charter to *fight and Rebel?*

5.

When zealous *Sham Sheriffs* the City oppose
In spite of the *Charter*, the *Kings and the Laws*,

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And made such a riot and rout in the town,
That never before such a racket was known;
When Rioters dare
Arrest the Lord May'r,
And force the *King's Substitute* out of the *Chair;*
Oh London! whose Charter *is now on the lees,*
Did your Charter *e'er warrant such actions as these?*

6.

Alas for the Brethren! what now must they do
For choosing Whig Sheriffs and Burgesses too?
The Charter with *Patience** is gone to the pot,
And the *Doctor* † is lost in the depth of *the Plot.*
St. Stephen his *Flail*
No more will prevail,
Nor Sir Robert's dagger, the Charter to bail:
Oh London! Thou'dst better *have suffered* by Fire
Than thus thy old Charter *should stick in the Mire.*

7.

But since with your folly, your Faction and pride,
You sink with the Charter, who strove with the tide;
Let all the lost rivers return to the main
From whence they descended; they'll spring o'er again;
Submit to the King
In every thing,
Then of a *new Charter new Sonnets* we'll sing,
As *London the Phœnix of England* ne'er dies,
So out of the flames a new Charter will rise."

Under the influence of such feelings, it cannot be deemed strange that vengeance should be sought on Papillon for the part he had taken; and accordingly in

* Sir Patience Ward.—See "State Trials" &c. † Doubtless Dr. Titus Oates.

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November, 1684, Sir William Pritchard, late Lord Mayor, brought an action against him for False and Malicious Arrest.

The Suit of Papillon *v.* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and that of Sir William Pritchard *v.* Papillon, were each brought in their own names; but from the evidence of Papillon's friend, Alderman Cornish, and the admission of his own Counsel on the trial of the latter case, as well as from Papillon's own assertions previously, it is clear that he brought his Suit on behalf of those who felt aggrieved throughout the City Companies; while from copies of private correspondence of Papillon relative to his release from Judgment in 1688, it is equally clear that Sir William Pritchard acted under Government influence.

Sir William's Suit resulted in a Verdict against Papillon, with Damages of £10,000. This he did not pay; but feeling his position in England insecure, if not even his life,—he mortgaged his estates in Kent to his Son-in-law, Samuel Rawstorn, and retired into Holland. In 1687, when James II. was restoring to Municipal offices the suppressed Whigs, and with some exceptions had issued a general pardon to exiles, Papillon was urged by friends at home to apply to the Crown for a release from the Judgment; but this Papillon refused to do, as shewn by the following summary of correspondence.

On the 12th August, 1687, Jane Papillon wrote to her husband:—

"Mrs. Cook writ me a letter, which I suppose was contrived by Sir William Pritchard, to tell me that she had solicited Sir William to give us his release, or some way to secure us that no future hurt should come to us by his heirs. She writes, 'He gives her abundance of good words; but yet she will not flatter

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us; she is afraid there is a snake in the grass.' Says she, 'What if Sir William or any of his should never be the better for the Judgment, yet if it should be made over to the Chamber, you are, I fear, in a worse condition than now; and therefore,' says she, 'if I were worthy to advise you, I would counsel that Mr. Papillon take some care speedily to compromise that concern. If order hath been given him [Sir William Pritchard] formerly not to agree with you but with Royal Assent, how easily may the friends of Mr. Papillon procure that for him: Methinks, you seem not to know how gracious our King is, that you apply not to his Majesty, who now, I believe, would readily grant what you desire. You see his general pardon, his gracious declaration of toleration; his pardoning Mr. Pilkington and Sir Patience Ward, who had offended him; his preferring such men as Mr. Thomson Kiffin and Mr. Edwin into the very places of Sir William Turner, Sir John Moor, and Sir William Pritchard, degraded by Royal pleasure; and it is not unlikely if Mr. Papillon was now here, we might be happy in his being Sheriff of London, as in Sir John Shorter being Lord Mayor; for that his Majesty at this day espouses that interest on which you banish yourselves; I mean the interest of tolerating the Protestant Religion. Madam, Why should so good a man, and so good a subject, as Mr. Papillon live out of his Country in such a day as this, when it is manifestly the designed endeavour of our Sovereign to have us live free and easy, in the enjoyment of our liberty and properties? And what if some great ones must be presented? Is not a native country desirable? How little would Mr. Papillon regard the loss of £500 or more at sea? If you can but obtain favour of his Majesty, I doubt not but we shall procure a release from Sir William, so that they may return and enjoy their Children and Religion, and all that is dear to you; and we should be highly pleased if you might be able to contribute to this: I assure you we shall be always ready to the utmost of our endeavours.'

"(Signed) MARGARET COOKE."

Letter from Thomas Papillon, at Utrecht, to his Son-in-law, Samuel Rawston, dated 29th December, 1687:—

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"Here above you have the copy of a letter my Wife received from M. Cooke by Cousin Showers, and also the copy of the answer my Wife made thereunto.

"I am apt to think Mrs. Cooke's letter was written with the privity, if not in the language, of Sir William Pritchard. You are not ignorant how vast a loss that has been to me, and how exceedingly prejudicial the matter has been to my Family; and the continuance of it is a very great burden, from which I would be gladly freed; yet after many thoughts spent thereupon, I cannot think it any way proper for me to made any application but only to Sir William Pritchard; for whatever secret orders or directions are intimated to be given, it was (if any) to him; and I doubt not it would be accounted criminal (or at least it might be so) for me to think, and by any advice to employ as if I thought, the Royal Majesty and Goodness did promote and set forward Suits and quarrels between Subjects.

"His present Majesty hath manifested abundant grace and mercy in pardoning many that were guilty of the highest crimes against him, both by his general as also by particular pardons, and it was a great aggravation of my misfortunes to have fallen into a private hand, that stops the current of Royal Bounty from flowing unto me.

"When you, or my Daughter, can with conveniency, it may not be amiss to give a visit to Mrs. Cooke, to enquire of matters, and to learn how she came to write in such forms, and how my Wife's answer was taken; and how Sir William Pritchard is inclined; and in case you judge it proper, you may speak to Sir William yourself, as from me; but I cannot as before noted, make application elsewhere; nor am I willing to be at any charge concerning it.

"If you or my Son Ward can think of any other proper medium for me to take, pray let me by this Bearer receive full intimations. Remember my love to Son and Daughter Ward, and my love to your Wife.

"Your loving and affectionate Father,

"THOMAS PAPILLON.

"Pray shew this to my Son Ward, and advise with him together, before you do anything; and if my Daughter Ward can spare time to go with your Wife to Mrs. Cooke, it may be best."

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Letter from Elizabeth Ward to her Father, Thomas Papillon, dated 16th February, 1688:—

"Although I doubt not you will have a perfect account of what relates to our great affair from another hand, yet having the opportunity to write with freedom, that I may not be thought unconcerned, and you may have a double testimony,—I beg leave to give you the following account:

"Monday, 15th, we waited on Mrs. Cooke, who by asking if there was no hope of seeing Mr. Papillon return, gave a good opportunity for free discourse, she seemed very hearty in good wishes, and ready to do any thing that might tend to our ease and satisfaction, and told us that her husband and self had often solicited Sir William Pritchard about it, but to no purpose: That she finding my Lady pretty well, who has been of late much troubled with fits and vapours, did desire, if it might not trouble her, to say something of Mr. Papillon; upon my Lady's answer that it would not, she said, since Sir William has declared that he nor none of his should ever be the better for that Judgment, why would he not release it, that so he (Mr. Papillon) might have freedom to see his native Country and Relations. The Lady replied that though he had said that he nor his should be the better for it, what if the City should? This hint gave Mrs. Cooke occasion to write as she did; yet both Mr. Cooke and his Lady say they verily believe Sir William has not given it out of his power; but that this was rather the effect of the Lady's fear and concern.

"Sir William's answer to them is still that he has promised the King not to do any thing without his leave, and that since the general pardon, as well as before, he did ask if he might have leave (to make an end) and had this answer, 'No; for had not Mr. Papillon been safe on that account, he had been excepted out of the general pardon;' upon which account they think it not fit for him to venture without a particular pardon, although this Judgment were released: They think Sir William's interest is now so low, being out of favour, and so turned out of place, that should he adventure to obtain [seek] leave himself, it would rather hinder than advantage the design.

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"Mr. Cooke wonders the City does not in general make it their request that so worthy a member might be restored, since it was for their sakes he suffered. I think they would be glad to cast the blame of the business to any others.

"We fully urged the great loss it has been to Mr. Papillon in his trade—children—hazards of health, and concerns here; and that we could not in this make applications to any but Sir William Pritchard, it not being fit for us to take notice of any thing that passed between the King and him: And yet whatever had been said at the trial, or otherwise, by any, as to making the Arrest a public concern, was not to the purpose; for no man, surely, desiring a legal appearance can be the occasion of disturbance in him that desires it, but ought to be yielded to by all who live under Government; and that after the Arrest, the withdrawing the Action, and paying the Charges, should have satisfied. That at the trial it was over and over again given upon oath by Sir Henry Tulse, that it was Sir William Pritchard's private Action, and that the City was no way concerned in giving directions about it, or any other way; therefore we know of no other way but to address to him, having no sense of any other offence; and must lie under this till God shall dispose him to release it.

"They (Mr. and Mrs. Cooke) say they will be very willing to forward the Release all they can, but think it must be done some other way; for it will not, they think, be done this way: And if any person on Mr. Papillon's account would move the King that he might have liberty to return, and should receive your answer that he does not keep out, it is a private business, it might be answered that Sir William Pritchard is willing to release if he (the King) will give leave.

"Friday, the 2nd. Gentlemen were with Sir William, and had long discourse, and left nothing unsaid, but could obtain no more but that he never made any promise or grant of the thing, save his saying in the Court of Aldermen soon after the Verdict, that he would make no advantage; but what was received or recovered should go to the Orphans: That he holds himself in no sort bound by that promise because he is now resolved that neither he nor any of his, nor any other whatever, shall ever make

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benefit or advantage of the Judgment: That he is, hath been, and shall be very ready and willing upon leave granted by the King to discharge and release the Judgment: That he holds himself obliged not to do it without the King's leave: That he thinks it altogether unfit and improper for him to make any application to the King, or to any other to speak to the King about it—he being out of favour, and having received intimation in the King's presence, about a year since—that unless he had the Verdict, and so a hand over Mr. Papillon, he (Mr. Papillon) had been excepted out of the Pardon: That he thinks it very proper for Mr. Papillon to do it, but wholly declines it himself, though earnestly pressed to it: That he cannot go by any but the Chancellor, and thinks him the proper means; however, confines us not to him, but by whatever way the King signifies his mind, he will obey.

It was not expressly said by him, but understood by them, that he is wholly at the King's dispose; that if the King command the taking out the Execution it must be done."

Letter from Thomas Papillon, at Utrecht, to his Son-in-law, Edward Ward, Esq., Barrister, London, dated $\frac{6}{16}$th February, 1688:—

"My Dear Son,

"Having received of Mr. Durando, although as yet have not seen him, the particular and distinct account my Daughter sent, I could not omit to return you both, as also my Son and Daughter Rawstorn thanks for your true love, diligent pains, and prudent care in my concerns, and beg that the Lord will abundantly recompense their love to us, in all spiritual and temporal blessings to you and your's, and particularly in the childlike affection of your Children to you, in time to come.

"Upon perusal and consideration of the whole matter, I continue in my former sentiments, intimated in my last to my son Rawstorn, that it is not proper or safe for me to make any application but only to Sir William Pritchard; and that being done, I must remain silent; and therefore I pray you and my son Rawstorn to forbear any moving therein, either as from me or yourselves.

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"I am not willing to be at any charge in the matter, except it were the charge of taking out a Pardon under the Seal, if the way was open thereunto; for although I think myself clear, and free from the least crime, against either his late or his present Majesty, yet as I every day desire God's Pardon, so I will never decline, but willingly accept the King's gracious pardon.

"I shall have occasion to write to my Son Rawstorn in a week or two, on other accounts; and in the meantime pray let him be acquainted with the contents of this.

"My Wife desires my Daughter to excuse her for not writing this post; she intends it by the next."

Letter from Elizabeth Ward, in London, to her Mother, at Utrecht, under date 28th February, 1688:—

"HONOURED MOTHER,

"Although we have been fully satisfied of your mind as to what is passed, by your's to Mr. Ward, yet something having since happened, we think ourselves bound to let you know it, and desire your further answer thereon.

"Since my last, Mr. Crips of Clapham has been with Brother Rawstorn, and tells him he has been with Mr. Penn about my dear Father's business, and is assured by him that the King is very willing that Sir William Pritchard should compose the business; and that if any of Mr. Papillon's Sons or Daughters will go to Mr. Penn, and promise that Mr. Papillon will live peaceably and quietly, and not intermeddle in public affairs, nor obstruct the taking off the Penal Laws and Tests, there should be order given to Sir William Pritchard to discharge it.

"This being wholly without our seeking or expectation makes us desire direction whether to move in it; and if to proceed, whether not to move for something further at the same time; which will certainly be better had with it than by itself afterwards, —or whether wholly to let it fall.

"We have not been with Mr. Penn, nor done anything in it yet, but shall waive it off till we receive your answer.

"It is to be considered what consideration will be put on a

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promise not to obstruct:—We heartily pray God to direct you what may be most for the satisfaction and quiet of your mind, and for his own Glory.

"Dear Mother, I am,

"Your most affectionate Daughter,

"E. W."

Statement by Jane Papillon:—

"May 4th, 1688. My husband received a letter from Captain Johnson, which was written to Mr. Showers, speaking as follows: 'I hope it will not be long before we see Madam and Mr. Papillon here, to whom pray present my humble service. I doubt not but he has an account of Sir William Pritchard being conscious of the hard measure that was done to him, and is desirous to let him know that he doth freely remit the debt, and is willing to give him any assurance that no man shall ever demand one penny of him. But for the Judgment, he is commanded by the King that it may not be vacated without his consent; which it is believed may be easily obtained, upon a Petition to his Majesty.'

"'I found Sir William very kind in his expressions towards Mr. Papillon; for when he asked how he did, and why he came not over, I replied to him it was a strange question for him to put, who was the cause of his going, and consequently of his not returning; but he desired me to let him know what I have here signified to them all; all which I acquainted Mr. Philip Papillon with, whom I met that day upon the Exchange.'

"Mr. Showers acquainted Mr. Papillon with it, and Mr. Papillon desired him to write that he had acquainted Mr. Papillon with what Captain Johnson expressed in his letter, and that he and his Aunt present their cordial respects to Mr. Johnson, with hearty thanks for his cordial affection and readiness to do them any good office; he hath formerly from other hands had intimations of the like import, and made answers thereto; and rests on the assurance you mention."

A letter from Samuel Rawstorn to his Father-in-law, Thomas Papillon, dated 23rd July, 1688:—

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"HONOURED SIR,

"On Saturday last Sir William Pritchard sent to speak with me; he told me that he was just now come from waiting upon the King, and that the latter had given him leave to discharge the Judgment, which he was ready to do; but he had never had one line from you to desire it, the which he expected.

"This day Alderman Radbird was with me, and told me he was yesterday to wait on the King about some other business, and he spoke to his Majesty about the Judgment: He made answer that he had sent for Mr. Papillon [? Sir William Pritchard]. I communicated this to Brother Ward. We are advised to write you the very words, as near as I could. It is thought convenient if you write to Sir William as soon as you can. So with my Wife's and Sister's duty to yourself and dear Mother, I remain," &c.

Letter from Thomas Papillon to Sir William Pritchard:—

"RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR WILLIAM PRITCHARD,

"HONOURED SIR,

"Though I am not conscious to have deserved on any account what both I and mine have, and still suffer under the burden of the Judgment which you did obtain, and continue in force against me, yet I shall not now go about to justify myself or blame you; but on the contrary return thanks for the kindness and civilities you have expressed to my Wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, in their applications to you on my behalf, for the discharging and releasing me from the same; as also to Captain Johnson and others that have occasionally discoursed with you of that affair: And having received by the last post intimation by my Son Rawstorn, that you are now more freely inclined to grant my request therein than formerly, but expected I should, under my own hand, make it my desire to you, this is therefore to intreat that you will vacate the same Judgment, and release and discharge me therefrom; which I shall acknowledge and own as a special favour, and always remain,

"Honoured Sir, your most humble Servant,

"30 July, 1688." "THOMAS PAPILLON."

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Letter from Thomas Papillon to his Son-in-law, Samuel Rawstorn, of the same date as the above:—

"DEAR SON,

"I have received your's of the 23rd which should have been the 24th instant. We all wish my Daughter may find good by the waters at Tunbridge, and shall long to know that it is so; you do not say whether she takes her little Jane with her, or leaves her in London: We do daily pray for a blessing on you all; for you are dear to us.

"As for what you intimate of Sir William Pritchard, enclosed is a letter for him; and withal I have sent a general release to him, lest he should scruple discharging me without a discharge from me: Pray intreat my Son Ward to take care that the Judgment be legally discharged; and if you have a general release from Sir William, send me the original, or a copy of it well attested.

"As to what you mention concerning Alderman Radbird, I do not understand you if you said his Majesty's answer was that he had sent for Mr. Papillon; I suppose it should mean Sir William Pritchard; which was the Saturday before, and this was on the Monday. Pray present my respects to Alderman Radbird, and thank him for his kindness, but do not mention any thing of my coming over; for as my affairs stand at present, I fear I can't be able, although I should never so much desire it, to put them in a posture for my return.

"All here present their true love to you and your's, and to my Son and Daughter Ward, and all their little ones. I am, &c.

"As soon as you possibly can, get Sir William Pritchard to discharge the Judgment: and do not deliver the discharge till Sir William has discharged me of the Judgment."

Letter from Edward Ward, Esq., to his Father-in-law, Thomas Papillon, dated 7th August, 1688:—

"HONOURED SIR,

"Yours of the 30th past directed to Brother Rawstorn, in his absence at Tunbridge, was brought to me by Mr. Mitchell, who intimated that I should open it, and put in execution the contents

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of it, and the enclosed to Sir William Pritchard. It came to my hand on Saturday last between five and six in the evening," &c. "And yesterday in the forenoon Mr. Baker and I waited on Sir William at his house at Highgate, where he civilly received us; and I delivered him your letter, having first sealed it; which after reading, he said he was very willing you should be discharged by him of all things so fully as he could, but desired we would meet him this day at twelve o'clock at Garraway's Coffee House, and to give notice to Mr. Borrett, the City Solicitor, who was concerned for him, to be there at the same time; and he then called for a bottle of sack, and drank your health very respectfully; but Mr. Borrett being at Tunbridge Sir William read over the Warrant and Release, I telling him the reason why we desired a Release, because we were told satisfaction could not by the regular method of the Court be entered upon Record till the next term, which was almost three months off, and therefore to prevent hazards and accidents in the meantime we desired the Release. He was well satisfied with the reason, and declared himself very willing to discharge you of all he could. Mr. Mitchell being with me, Mr. Baker having gone to the Kent Assizes, Sir William called in Mr. Fermine, and a Brother-in-law of Sir William, one Mr. Grace; they three in my presence were witnesses to the sealing and delivering both of the Warrant and the Release: There were several persons saw us together; who, I believe, either knew or shrewdly guessed at the occasion; and I believe it is generally known, and possibly not fit to be concealed. He expressed himself very well satisfied at the sealing, and they were delivered to me for your use. He let fall an expression to this effect, that he hoped, as he had not ever designed to have a penny by that affair, so that none other had; of the truth whereof I assured him; and he seemed very well pleased, and heartily wished your health and welfare, &c.

"He took notice of an expression in your letter, as if you thought him now more willing than formerly to discharge you; he says he hopes you always believed that he, as of himself, was as willing as now; I told him I was satisfied you were; and gave him my sense of that expression, which he well accepted.

"At the first reading of your letter to him, my Wife and I

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thought you had complimented him in expressions something too high, but seeing his generous demeanour in this matter, we are very well satisfied in it, &c.

"And now that all is done that can be, till term time, unless satisfaction can possibly be entered in the meantime, which shall if by any means it can. My Wife joins with me in our hearty joy and congratulation for the removing that impediment and clog—and sincerely wish all happiness and comfort may attend you and your's in it. We do, as we ought, look to the over-ruling hand of God in it, and desire to be sensible of it; and I hope I may not unfitly use that great saying, '*When a man's ways please the Lord, he makes even his enemies to be at peace with him.*'

"Time will not suffer me to enlarge. I hope on this occasion I have not been tedious, though long.

"This day Wife received Mother's of the 2nd instant, for which she returns humble thanks, and will write next post herself, &c.

"Your most dutiful and obedient Son and Servant,

"EDWARD WARD."

The case of Pritchard *v.* Papillon is fully given in "State Trials;" and in order to know well the manner in which it was conducted, the record itself must be read:

A few remarks, however, may be made.

1.—The Plaintiff's Counsel brought forward no proof of malice or evil design on the part of the Defendant. They simply proved the fact and circumstances of the Arrest.

2.—By their own assertion the Plaintiff's Counsel tried to confound the Arrest with the design of those concerned in the Rye House Plot to seize the Lord Mayor, &c.; for which they had no evidence whatever, beyond the fact that Goodenough and Keiling were the Solicitor and Special Constable on the occasion; and though the Judge (Sir George Jeffreys) discountenanced the charge when urged by the Counsel, he roundly asserted it when summing up.

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3.—In like manner the Plaintiff's Counsel pleaded that as the Sheriff's office was not one of personal emolument the Defendant had no legal right to sue for it; and the Judge, in summing up, magnified this doctrine into an indirect and damnable purpose of subverting the Government, and poisoning the founts of Justice in the City, through "*Ignoramus Juries.*"

In fact, though the learned Judge began to sum up most equitably, his strong Party bias and his wonted use of it, appear to have run away with his better judgment, as a vicious horse with his rider; and before long he launched out against the Whig Party in the City, as if it were not fit that such men should live.

The Defence had been plain and logical; but the Jury yielded implicitly to the *dictum* of the Judge; though he had previously warned them against attending to foreign matter, even though introduced by himself.

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Alderman Cornish

Executed Octr. 23d. 1685

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CHAPTER XII.

EXILE.

Letters from Papillon to his Wife on reaching Holland, and on settlement at Utrecht—His loneliness—He refers to various Political friends, some of them opponents, as possibly able and willing to espouse his cause in case of a general pardon on accession of James II.—He leads a retired life—Arrangements for his Wife and others to join him—Pious reflections on his Exile—and on his previous course of life—Writes a Treatise on the Sanctity of the Sabbath, at the request of Mr. Paul D'Aranda, of Amsterdam—Striking instance of his own regard for it—His systematic perusal of the Bible—Christian Address to his Children at Utrecht, August 1686—Confession of Sins, September, 1688—Letters to a fellow Exile, probably Sir Patience Ward, from July to November, 1688—their strong religious tone, mingled with patriotism.

THE feelings of Thomas Papillon when entering upon exile, while suffering exile, and when about to return home—may be seen by the following letters and treatises—his most valuable remains, as remarked in the Preface.

Hostile critics may say, that when in trouble he turned to God; happy result, were that the case:—But having regard to the former tenour of his life, we would rather say, that when freed from the strife and tumult of his times, his mind instinctly found rest and peace in God; and when again engaged in the cares of office, and anxious duly to fill his post, he ever maintained his divine allegiance.

Letters from Thomas Papillon when entering on exile, to his Wife who was still in London:—

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"Amsterdam, 29th January, 1684. / 8th February, 5.

"My Dearest,

"From the Brill I gave an account of my son Rawstorn, of my arrival on Saturday the 24th of January, about two o'clock. When I left you I went on board that night, but the ship not being cleared, I went on shore on Sunday night, and did not get on board till late Monday night, and the wind was contrary, so that we could only turn down a little way; on Wednesday morning we had a fair gale, and towards evening made over for the coast of Holland; but the wind proved so high and stormy, that we durst not set in too near the coast, but were forced to beat it at sea all that day and the next night; on Friday morning it was more clear, but the weather so hazy and dark that we durst not set in for the shore; but finding a vessel belonging to Rotterdam lying at anchor, and waiting for clear weather to go in, we went on board her, and the other ship proceeded on her voyage to Newcastle, whither she was bound, where I hope she arrived on Sunday or Monday night last. Aboard the Dutch vessel we lay from Friday two o'clock to Saturday eight o'clock, and then the weather clearing up, we saw the shore, and had a pilot come aboard, and about two o'clock we landed at the Brill, whence I went by water to Masonsluice, and so intended for Delf, but the canals not being cleared of the ice the boats did not go, nor were there any waggons to be had; and there being no preaching either in French or English at Masonsluice, I was necessitated from thence to go afoot to Delf, being about eight English miles. We arrived there about seven o'clock, and were at some trouble to find lodging at any house where they spake French or English, but at last did find a good place.

"The Lord's day, I went to the English and French Churches, in both which there was very honest and spiritual preaching, directing us to be careful of our thoughts, words, and actions—all that we do in the body—for we must all appear, &c. II. Corinthians v., 10. To make God our fear, and then we need not fear any thing else, and to keep in memory the experience of God's goodness and mercy to us, from that in Psalm lxvi., 16;

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and from the three first petitions of the Lord's prayer, to make God's glory our great and main desire, to have the kingdom of God in our hearts, and to pray that it may be set up in the world, and to bring our hearts to a full conformity to God's will both in doing and suffering; a great deal of Christianity lay in a free, humble submission to divine disposals; this was very suitable.

"On Monday I went by waggon from Delf to Leyden, and thence on Tuesday to Haarlem, and so to Amsterdam, where it was evening before we arrived, and so took up my lodging in a publichouse; and that night wrote to ——— and enclosed a line for my Son, being assured you would be glad to hear from me as often as you could.

"On Wednesday morning I was at the English Church, where the subject was, He that will be my disciple must deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. After sermon I went to Mr. Paul D'Aranda's house, where at present I am.

"I have given thee this large account of my travels, that you may observe God's goodness and mercy with me, and return praise. Things do not in all circumstances fall out as we desire, either in respect of matter or time; our expectations are frustrated; the wind is contrary, sometimes stormy; the weather dark and gloomy; and yet with patience, waiting, the issue God's orders to be well, and every thing works for good at last. Thus it was in my little journey, or voyage, from London to Amsterdam, and so it hath been in my great journey from my birth to this time; and why should not I believe it will be so still, and that all in the issue shall turn to the best?

"I find you will do well to send me by the ship that comes for Amsterdam, some more linen, &c.

"As to the Concern, if it can be accommodated, and a clear end made both with Sir William Pritchard and all others pretending on that account, I shall be glad—that so I might return speedily to thee and my family, which is the great thing I desire, and my absence from them my greatest affliction. But as to this, I must leave it to the management of my dear son Ward, and shall be glad to hear by every safe conveyance how things stand, and what may be necessary on my part. Whether it may be convenient

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for me to write to Sir William Pritchard, or any other person, in reference thereto.

"My most dear love to thee, and to my dear Children, and Grandchildren, as if I named them particularly, they are all dear to me and upon my heart, &c.

"As to the letting of the house, I cannot tell what to direct, though I incline it best to let it if you have a good opportunity; and I think it not convenient to sell much of your things, but only the lumber; for if you come hither, most of the things will be useful.

"The Lord of His mercy direct all for the best, and bless you and my Children, and give us a happy meeting in His due time; for my greatest contentment in this world is to enjoy thee, —for I am,

"Thine, T. P.

"In case there be no vessels bound for Amsterdam, you may send by vessels for Rotterdam, directing the things to be sent to Amsterdam, to Mr. Paul D'Aranda.

"The vessel I came over in, if she arrived at Newcastle on Sunday or Monday night, as I hope she did, was not two days' time out of her way in carrying me, so that I suppose Mr. H. will not pretend any great matter for the service; I think £5 or £10 at most; may be he will take nothing, being performed in so little time, and without any prejudice to them; however, what he will have must be paid to him: I gave the Master four guineas, for his provisions and pains; and one guinea to the Pilot, and one guinea to the Ship's company, besides what I gave to the Cabin Boy and Cook."

"$\frac{17}{27}$th February, $\frac{1684}{5}$.

"My Dearest,

"I have received thine of the 10th instant, and find thy affections still working towards me, as mine to thee, and that we cannot be content without the enjoyment and society of each other; I hope God in his providence will so order it, that we may enjoy that blessing before many months be over. That which is a grief to thee, that God hath hedged up thy way in

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response to actings for me, doth much affect me, and the more because thou leavest me in the dark about it.

"I take notice what you say, that you and all my friends wish I were not in this place, which I apprehend is in reference to the public; to which, first, you know I should not have come into these countries if I could have gone into France and have there enjoyed the exercises of religion: That which you imagine that in France we may be allowed to keep a Minister in the house, is not to be obtained. At Rouen, they have now no public exercise of religion, and no Minister is allowed to preach or pray in any private family, or to visit the sick or baptize children; so to go into a country where we must be debarred of all the Ordinances of God, is that I cannot agree to: As to what you say of the Duke of Lunenbourg's country, I will enquire further therein; but I think it is quite out of the way of all trade, and as our circumstances are, how shall we live if we cannot some way or other improve our little money? I am going to-morrow to Utrecht, and shall consider how I like that place. As to this place, it may be convenient in reference to trade, but as to all other things, I have no liking of it; there is no Christian society; getting of money, and saving of money, is the business; and there is little of the life, power, and spirituality of Religion.

"Since I have been here (except one day at first that I went to the Exchange) I have not gone abroad, nor seen or conversed with any English; and indeed I do on the matter make myself a prisoner, that I might be exempt from any occasion of meeting with persons under evil characters—they are all strangers to me, and so I resolve to be to them. Mr. Fentzell, by whom I wrote thee two lines, who lay in the house where I lodge, can give you an account how I live; and he is a man well esteemed for his loyalty, was one of the Jury whereof Mr. Percivall Gilborne was foreman, though he was not in my trial.

"I think it will be necessary that my Son Rawstorn sell all the stock at Acrise, horses, cows, sheep, &c.; and that none of the land be kept in his hand, but let the best we can; and I think we had better bate of the rent, to have it well paid. There need be only one maid there, and James the Gardener;

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and consider whether it be not better to allow them board wages, than to have them at charge of diet. Pray consider this, for it will be convenient that you go down there to see all things settled.

"It is well you will take care to send me the things I desired as soon as you can with convenience.

"We must be very thrifty, and good husbands in all things, and therefore must not keep many servants.

"Since Winny* is so unsatisfied, I am content he should come with you. He must get all his things from Oxon. I suppose my Cousin Fawkner will desire to stay with her brother; for she cannot expect preferment here, especially living so retiredly as we must do.†

"Houses here are dearer than in London, and provisions much more dear; besides, here is excise on every servant we keep; for gardens, there may be some at great houses, but I have seen none; and for walks abroad, there is none better than in the City, which in summer time is very pleasant, there being trees planted in every street by the water side. I bless God I have my health very well, and though I am very solitary, I am not melancholy. There is no dry situation in this country, though some are better than others.

"I wish Sir J. O. [James Oxenden, no doubt] and his Lady all happiness in their intended journey to the waters at Burban.

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* Wingfield Broadnax, an orphan nephew of Jane Papillon, who died at Utrecht, in Thomas Papillon's house.

† This lady was an orphan niece of Thomas Papillon, and the following allusion is made to her in "The Life of the Rev. John Shower, late Minister of the Gospel in London"—by W. Tong, London, 1716:—

"It was not long before he came to Rotterdam, God provided a suitable yoke-fellow for him—Mrs. Elizabeth Fawkner, niece to Mr. Papillon, in whose family she then was, a voluntary sharer with them in all the inconveniences of their exile. The character given of her by worthy Mr. Spademan, one that knew not how to give flattering titles, is sufficient to show how happy Mr. Shower was in that relation. They were married at Utrecht, 24th September, 1687. They lived together not full four years, in which time they had three children—ANN the eldest, born at Rotterdam, lived to be a great comfort to her father, and very happily married to Mr. J. Warner; the second, a son born at London, and died within a month, baptized JOHN, by Mr. Nathaniel Taylor; the third, a daughter named HANNAH, baptized by Mr. Spademan; the mother and child both died in less than a month's time."

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"The preaching here is not generally so spiritual as in England. There is an Independent Church, but I was only there one afternoon with my Landlord and Mr. Fentzell; I forbear going there, because it is said most of the English, retired on public accounts, go there, and not to the other Church; therefore I have gone to the English Church allowed by the States, and the last Lord's day was there at the Sacrament.

"I thank thee for the intimation of what affected thee; I hope I may say to the praise of God, I have no dependence upon any ability of my own; for I find every day, more and more, a deficiency in myself, and a necessity of deriving influence from Christ, to enable and quicken to every duty. In reference to the Sacrament, I was much on the consideration of the depravedness of my nature, from Genesis vi., 5, Psalm xiv., 2, 3, Psalm liii., 1, 2, 3, Romans iii., 20-38, and Ezekiel xvi., 3-6, xvi., 3-6, but especially the iii. Romans; and then of the rich mercy and great love of God, the exceeding riches of His grace from Ephesians ii., 1, 4, 5, and indeed the whole chapter. The subject treated on, was the Psalm cxlvii, 3, 'He healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds.' Brokenness of heart implies a sense of sin as the greatest evil, and mourning for sin on discovery of God's love and grace in Christ by the Gospel for the pardon of sin—a justifying God in all His corrections and punishments—Psalm li., 4, and a restlessness of soul till it comes to be made partaker of Christ and His grace; and to have some assurance of his love; for comfort of such truly humbled and broken-hearted sinners that are panting after the manifestations of divine love to be healed, and to have their wounds bound up—he said under the delay of God in vouchsafing this mercy, we should labour to live by faith, and not by sense, and for support should consider—1st—That Christ is a merciful and faithful High Priest, Hebrews ii., 17, iv., 15, 16. 2nd—How He is represented in Scripture; God takes special care for the comfort and support of weak humble Christians, Isaiah xl., 11. 3rd—To consider Christ's office, Isaiah lxi., 3; and the end of His coming—to seek and to save that which was lost. And if any object that God is a great and glorious God—Will he take care of me, a poor contemptible

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creature? He bid us consider that in Psalm cxxxviii., 6; and especially to remark that in Isaiah lvii., 15, where God sets out himself in His glorious majesty with raised expressions, yet at the same time He declares His condescension to have regard and respect to the humble soul, to revive and support them. This last passage was considerable, and very affecting to me.

"Tell Phil, That I think, if the tin he bought will not sell at the coinage without loss, if there be any opportunity of shipping, he may send it here; but if there be no opportunity of shipping it away, then he had best sell it, that he may clear all accounts, as much as he can, before he comes over.

"I would willingly know how the affairs of the East India Company proceed; what the Stock is now worth; what goods they sell next March; and what ships are now expected. My Son may speak to Mr. Edwin, and pray him to give me an account hereof; and to advise me if he thinks there is any thing to be bought, either here or there, that may turn to account.

"As I wrote my son Rawstorn the 10th instant, I was exceedingly surprised at the sad news of his late Majesty's death: As I was a sufferer for his father, so you know I was always a faithful and loyal subject to him. I pray God to bless his present Majesty. It's possible there may be some Act of Grace, or General Pardon, proceed from his Majesty to all but Capital Offenders; and though my circumstances are such as will not be included in such an Act of Grace, yet his Majesty's goodness may be an example to Sir William Pritchard, &c., to discharge me. Now the term is over, I hope my son Ward will do what may be advisable. I hear my Lord Dartmouth is advanced; may not Madam Kendal engage him, if it be necessary, on my behalf —as also the Duke of Albermarle? There is also Mr. Pepys, who is a very ingenuous man; and one who, I believe, would do any just, and lawful favour, on the request of Mr. James Houblon. Pray let all things be considered, that may be necessary and convenient.

"Have you, since my going, seen or heard from Sir Josiah Child? Pray write me who have been so kind as to visit you.

"My son or you may write to me every post, and acquaint me how you all do; and Philip may ask my advice in his business,

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and quote the Exchange to all places, and advise any thing of trade, and also send me an English Gazette. I am desirous to hear every post from one or other; for I have no other outward comfort like the interest in, frequent thoughts of, and hopes to enjoy, thee and my dear Children. My sincere and cordial love to them all, and to my Grandchildren: my kind love to Cousin Fawkner, and to all Relations. I am,

"Thine, T. P."

"Utrecht, the $\frac{19\text{th February, 1684.}}{1\text{st March, } 85.}$

"My Dearest,

"I wrote the $\frac{17}{27}$th instant, to which I have at present nothing to add but to acquaint thee that I came here last night in safety: I have not yet been abroad to see the town, but Sir P. W. [doubtless Sir Patience Ward, himself an exile] and Mr. ——— [name torn away by the seal on back of letter] do much commend it. I hear here that some persons that formerly left England, and are under some ill characters, are retired to the Duke of Lunenbourg's country, and I hear of none here; so that I may incline to take a house here, if I find one convenient; but of this I shall write you more hereafter.

"My dear love to all my dear Children and Grandchildren; I am,

"Thine, T. P.

"This place is an University, so that if we fix here, Winny may follow his studies here, if his mind will be fixed.

"Since the writing I have been about the Town; it is the most pleasant place I have found in this Country."

"Utrecht, the $\frac{23\text{rd February, 1684.}}{5\text{th March, } 85.}$

"My Dearest,

"I wrote thee from Amsterdam the $\frac{17}{27}$th February, and from hence the $\frac{19\text{th February,}}{1\text{st March,}}$ since which I have received one from my son of the 13th February. I bless God for your health and safety. As I wrote thee, I cannot live comfortably without thee;

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all the world is nothing to me in comparison; and indeed I live as a prisoner, and one out of the world, conversing with none. This hath engaged me to think of taking a house here, where thou mayst be with me, and I think I shall agree for one this day. It is an indifferent good house, and hath a good garden, and stable and coach house. The place is a good air, and the town pleasant, and good walks about the town. One tells me that here were twenty persons of the English Church, that had lived here a great while, that made up 1800 years, which is ninety years one with the other, which is a sign of a healthy place.

"The house I must enter upon the 21st April, English style, so that it will be convenient that against that time you send such household stuff as you can spare, &c.

"Though it behoves us to live very thriftily, yet I would have thee want no conveniency, and therefore you may also send the coach, if you can have it; for I think it will not sell there but very low, and it may be easily brought with small charge; for horses, they are to be bought here; only if my Son will bring his nag, he may; and let them also send my saddle. All the other horses, as I wrote you, should be sold. They may take them up, and feed them, to make them fit for sale. As for Acrise, and things there, I refer you to my last.

"When you come, which must not be later than the latter end of April or May, you may bring such other things as you shall think good. I think you must bring no man servant with you; for it will be necessary for us to take a Dutch coachman, who may also keep the garden, which is the custom here; and our English will hardly do it. Wingfield coming with you will supply.

"If my Son Ward and Daughter be willing, you may bring one of the Children with you; you need bring no other maid, I think, but my Cousin Calandrini,* for you must have another

* Probably one of the numerous family of Louis Calandrini, the ejected Minister (1662) of Stapleford Abbot, Essex.—See "Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex," by T. W. Davids, 1838, Walford, Hodder & Co.

Louis Calandrini was son of Cæsar Calandrini, Minister of the Flemish Church in London (mentioned in Chapter III.), a highly gifted and accomplished, as well as pious man; brother of Thomas Papillon's mother, Anne Marie Calandrini.

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maid for ordinary scrubbing work; yet if you think it convenient to bring one more, you may do as you please.

"I am expecting to hear if any thing can be done for the discharging me from Sir William Pritchard, &c.; as I never did any thing against the King or Government, so I never shall, nor do I converse or hold correspondency with obnoxious persons.

"My most entire love to thee, and to all my dear Children and Grandchildren, as if I had particularly named them. My love to all friends. I am,

"Thine, T. P.

"Sir P. and my Lady remember themselves kindly to you; we often drink your health.

"Since the above was written, I have considered and find that you must bring one maid besides Cousin Calandrini; and it will be well if you can have one that speaks Dutch, and can tell how to dress meat; for the Dutch maids here cannot dress meat after the English fashion; so the maid you bring must serve for a chambermaid, and also to dress victuals."

"Utrecht, the $\frac{2nd}{12th}$ March, $\frac{1684}{85}$.

'My Dearest,

"I have none of thine since my last of the $\frac{26th\ February.}{8th\ March.}$ and that thou mayest know the better how to order all things, I have sent thee on the other side the particular dimensions of the rooms in the house that I have taken, to which I was induced that I might enjoy thee quietly, and in peace, without giving offence to those that God hath set in authority over us; for whatever the Gazette might say, or any imagine, I am resolved not to intermeddle with any affairs of State, or to converse with any that are obnoxious to the Government.

"I have nothing further to write to thee, but that I am well, and in good health, and long to have thee with me, my dear: Love to thee and my dear Children and Grandchildren. The Lord bless you. I am,

"Thine, T. P.

"My love to all friends. If you are content, I will write but

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once a week, and you need do no more; advise me of the receipt of this, and on what day you choose to write.

"I would know how the affairs of the East India Company go; for I have a kindness for them; how the sale is; and when the Committee is chosen, their names, and number of votes: My son may speak to some person to write me on that account. Send me the Gazettes; but let none write me any other public news than what that contains. My letters are directed 'A Monsieur Thomas, chez Mr. Paul D'Aranda, Marchand à Amsterdam,' or 'a Monsieur Thomas, Ten huys van St. Jacob Giligt, op St. Pieters Kirkhoff, over de France Kirk, tot Utrecht.' The letters that come directed directly for Utrecht, come a day sooner to hand, than those that go directed to Amsterdam."

"Now you must consider how to order all with convenience, and despatch the main away to be here by the 21st April, English style.

"There must be four handsome beds, bedsteads, and all things appertaining, to accommodate four chambers; three or four other beds, bedsteads, blankets, and appurtenances, whereof two may have bedsteads, but they must not be too high; not exceeding 6½ feet high, or else must be made for canopies.

"If you can sell the hangings of tapestry well, you may sell them; if not, you may send them, to save buying new.

"You may not do amiss to bring a piece or two of printed stuff, proper for hangings where you shall think fit.

"You may bring your cabinets, and some boxes of drawers; there are some presses in the house, to put in pewter and plate, &c. Some tables will be necessary to be brought, but not many, because they are too cumbersome.

"Bring what plate you please; and as I wrote, send the coach. Books you may bring; some both of Divinity and History; and what you leave may be sent to Acrise.

"This place is an University, and therefore I am the more willing that Winny should come; and let him bring all his things from Oxford; and let him remember to get the money for his chamber furniture, according to the Constitution of the House.

"Your china that is good, you may bring; for everyone here doth use of that sort, and it is very dear.

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"Great glasses, for furniture of some of the rooms, will be necessary.

"As I wrote thee, I desire thee to consider thy convenience; for I would have thee deny thyself nothing that is for thy accommodation.

"The affairs at Acrise I have already written you about; my son Rawstorn will assist you. I think it best that between this and Michaelmas he endeavour to let all the land, the best he can, and sell off all the stock; corn is like to be very dear; so they may take their time to sell what there is; and in its season what shall grow next year.

"If you have any tea, you may bring some with you; a hamper of good canary wine in bottles will be convenient to send."

"Utrecht, le $\frac{\text{26th February, 1684.}}{\text{8th March, 85.}}$

"My Dearest,

"I have received thine of the 17th February, and take notice my letter per Mr. Fentzell was seized; I suppose when they have perused it, you may have it sent you; I am sure none of my letters have in them any thing prejudicial or disparaging to the King or Government. As I am now free and discharged from all public employment, so I intermeddle with nothing of that kind, and have no greater ambition than to enjoy myself and thee in peace and quietness, and to pray for the happiness and prosperity of the King and Kingdom of England, my native Country.

"I had not seen or heard, before I received thy letter, of that print of the $\frac{18}{28}$th February which makes mention of me, and so know not what it is, but am sure I have given no occasion to say or write any thing amiss of me; for I am altogether private, and converse with none of the obnoxious persons, nor so much as see them, they being all strangers to me.*

* Papillon's frequent allusion to his own loyalty may seem to some to be stilted, and unnecessary—or even insincere; but the account given by Macaulay (Chapter V., "History of England") of "*the obnoxious persons*," shows how soundly Papillon wrote on the matter.

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"I bless God for that peace and quietness that you enjoy, and hope it shall be continued. As I wrote thee in my last of the $\frac{23rd\ February,}{5th\ March,}$ I cannot find any satisfaction or content to myself without thy company, and therefore I have taken a house in this City, that we may enjoy ourselves, and avoid all matters of public concerns, and I shall think every day a year till we meet.

"The house is but a small house in comparison, but it will serve us in our private and retired condition. There is below stairs a fore-room or entrance, one indifferent good parlour, one little parlour and a room adjoining for a buttery or closet; one room for a lodging room, but low pitched, and a good kitchen, but it is four or five steps down, and joins to the little parlour; then there is over the kitchen a good room, which may serve for a spare lodging chamber; above stairs there are five chambers, three of which are passable rooms and well pitched as to height; the other two are low-roofed, but will serve for lodging rooms for the maids, &c.; between these two chambers are two closets. The rooms do not lie flush and even to one another, but up and down, which is an inconvenience, but we must be content to suffer some inconveniences. There are very good garrets for drying of clothes. There are two gardens, one behind the other; the furthermost is the biggest, but both of them are not bigger, or very little bigger than the garden behind our house; between the two gardens and the side of the first garden there is a washhouse, rooms for laying of fuel, a room for men-servants to lodge, and a room that may serve for a summer-house, or for a counting-house for me and my Son. At the further end of the farther garden there is a coach-house and a stable, and also a place encompassed in, for the keeping and feeding of poultry.

"Thus I have given you the best description of the house that I can:—Some of the rooms, to wit, the best parlour and the room over the kitchen are hung now with tapestry, but they are too high-roofed for our hangings except those in the dining room or counting-house. You will consider what is fit to bring for furniture, and sell the rest.

"I am to pay £31 a year for the house, &c., which is not dear. We are to enter upon it the 20th April, English style, so that it will be convenient to hasten the sending the furniture,

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to be here against that time, which will quickly come on. Cane chairs, I understand, are well esteemed here, so that if you bring more than we use we may sell them. All provisions are indifferent reasonable; veal, mutton, and beef throughout the year for 3½d. the pound, and very good fish at moderate rates. I suppose you need not bring above two or three spits, and none of the greatest, nor your great iron pots. Pewter will sell, if we do not use it.

"I hope if we are once settled, we may live together quietly and comfortably. Enclosed is a procuration for my Son to make use of on occasion. My dear love to all my Children; the Lord bless you and them, and give us a happy meeting. I am,

"Thine, T. P."

"$\frac{5}{15}$th March, $\frac{1684}{85}$.

"My Dearest,

"I wrote both to thee and my Son P., the $\frac{23\text{rd February,}}{5\text{th March,}}$ and the $\frac{2\text{nd}}{12\text{th}}$ March, all which I hope are come safe to hand. I have now received two of thine, the last of which bears date the 27th February; in answer to which I confirm to thee my former.

"I bless God I enjoy my health very well, and am not melancholy, though as I wrote thee, I live very retiredly, and converse with none, and have always avoided, and shall do still, to converse with any obnoxious persons; for being now freed from all public employs, it doth not belong to me to intermeddle, but to leave the Government to those whom God hath called to it. All I desire is to live quietly, and to enjoy thee and my Children; in order to which I have taken a house in this town, and have writt to thee the dimensions of the rooms, that thou mayst know how to order furniture for them; which I would have thee to do, not scantily, but largely, as to all things. The pictures over the stairs, of muskets and pikes, and all the other pictures about the house, I would have thee bring, except the great one of all,* which must go with the house: They must be taken out of the frames, and made up so as not to spoil

* Possibly that owned by his father, and mentioned in Chapter I., representing the attack on his great grandfather and companions at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

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them; and the frames packed up and marked, so as to be matched again. You may get some limner to assist and help therein, &c.

"As I wrote you, I am willing my Son should come with you; and if he leaves his business with R. M. there will be no need for such a Covenant as you mention. Winny also may come, for this place being an University, he may here follow his studies. If Cousin Fawkner will come, you cannot refuse her, though we have no reason at present to contract any charge but our own. One or more of my Grandchildren will do well, if my Daughter is willing and desirous of it.

"My landlady hath hired a Dutch maid for me against the 20th April; she is a good, strong maid, for scrubbing and cleaning the house, but understands nothing of dressing any meat. I am enquiring after a man-servant; if I can get one that is a gardener, then Thomas may serve for coachman. Here is no good kind of garden peas, so you may send a few to set.

"I take notice what you meant by that phrase of having your way hedged up, and do concur in opinion with the advice given to sit still; and therefore you need not make use of those persons I mentioned, unless there be occasion.

"As to Captain James Kendall, enclosed is a letter for him. My Son may begin to pay him as he can raise money; and if he does not accept the two ships, we must find some one to supply it. Let my Son, before he pays him any money, be sure that he is Executor, and that he hath proved the Will. Methinks if Mr. John Kendall hath left us nothing, yet his Executor should give us mourning, or make us a handsome present to remember him by; for though I say it myself, I have been as a father to him, and he had never left such an Estate but through my means and assistance.

"It is well my Son will get Mr. Edwin, or Mr. Beyer, or any body else to give me an account of the East India affairs; for I shall be glad to hear that they thrive—and am desirous to know how it goes from time to time.

"I am sorry the house is not let, we must make a virtue of necessity; and if my Son Rawstorn cannot let it to the worth, he must let it for what he can; but then it must not be for a long time, but for five or seven years, as he meets with

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opportunity. A very strict Inventory or Schedule must be taken of all things, to be annexed to the Lease; and when you take down your things to pack up, you may remove to your Daughter's till you come away.

"You may consider and advise with my Son Rawstorn and Mr. J. W. for the manner of your sending all the household goods and your own coming. The goods and chairs, and stools, tables, beds, &c., will be a good quantity; and if you freight a Dutch vessel to carry all, upon the same vessel the maid, Wingfield, &c., may go—all but yourself, Son, Daughter, and Children, and you may go in a hackney coach to Harwich; and so go over in the Packet boat, carrying with you only your jewels, and what is necessary for your journey; but whether this be best or no, I leave to the consideration of my Son Rawstorn and friends.

"If Mr. J. W. desires any thing of you, pray do accommodate him if possible.

"My dear love to all my Children. I pray God to bless you and bring us together in safety. I am,

"Thine, T. P."

This letter is from an autograph of Thomas Papillon, without date, or signature; but it is docketed by his Wife, "*My Dear's; about the Executorship of Brother George, one of his first letters.*" Brother George Papillon had died in July, 1684, and no doubt this letter was written by Thomas Papillon to his Wife soon after he went to Holland:—

"My Dearest,

"I have thine, and return thee thanks for all thy care and pains in my concerns, and so I do also to my dear Sons Ward and Rawstorn, whose love and kindness I am very sensible of, and pray God abundantly to make it up to them and their's.

"As touching my Brother's Will, as circumstances stand I think I shall not contract any sin if I renounce the Executorship; and therefore I am inclined so to do, and heartily pray that such person may have it as will do the Children right.

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"I love thee as my own soul, and I hope God will bring us together in his due time with comfort, that we may spend the rest of our days in a more spiritual and heavenly manner. The Lord do us good, and cause all Grace to abound in us.

"Walking in the garden, I observed (the wind being high) clouds intercepting the sight of the sun, some were black and dark that hid it more, others were more light and airy that did not so much darken it; the wind did dispel those clouds and gave a more clear sight of the sun, which gave this meditation:—Our sins, which are as dark and black clouds, do separate between God and our souls, so that we cannot discern the light of His countenance. Temporal and earthly good things, that are lawful in themselves, like the lighter and more airy clouds, do often interpose and obstruct our clear discoveries of God. The wind of affliction, when God pleaseth to sanctify it, becomes instrumental to purge away sin, and to take our affections off from creature comforts, and thereby brings us to have more clear discoveries of God and fruition of him. This was a sudden occasional thought; by further meditation it might be improved; I only hint to thee that thou mayest join in prayer, that God would make this affliction efficacious to us both for our purification from sin, and weanedness from the world—and that He would vouchsafe more dear and full discoveries of himself to our souls, that we may have more communion with Him, and more delight in Him."

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REFLECTIONS.

The following autograph *Reflections* are a natural sequence to many expressions in the above letters; and though bearing no date, they may be attributed without hesitation to the period of Papillon's exile. Either before or after that event he was too much occupied for leisure to prepare such a document, and his circumstances were inapposite:—

"THE wise man, in Ecclesiastes vii., 14, directs for the day of adversity to consider; and the Church in Lamentations iii., 43, being in an afflicted state, calls on us to search and try our ways. It is certain there is no evil of suffering, but it comes from God. Lamentations iii., 37, 38, 'Who is he that saith, and it cometh to pass, when the Lord commandeth it not? Out of the mouth of the most High proceedeth not evil and good?' that is, both evil (in a way of punishment) and good proceed from God. Amos iii., 6, 'Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?' Whatever God's providences and dispensations are towards us, we ought to be diligent in observing them, that we may understand the mind of God in them, and demean ourselves suitably, &c. O my God, be graciously pleased to assist me by Thy Holy Spirit, that I may so consider of the present dispensations of Thy providences towards me, that I may understand Thy mind and my own duty, that I may discover and repent of those sins whereby I have provoked Thee, and may improve this affliction for all those ends and purposes that Thou hast been pleased to send it; and so may have in the close a good issue, and be enabled to praise Thy holy Name.

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"1st.—I desire to consider my present case, as the Church saith in Lamentations, 'Why doth the living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sins?' man a creature, a sinful creature, and yet a living creature, under the absolute sovereignty of his Lord and Creator, to be disposed of at His pleasure; under the sentence of a just and righteous Judge, liable to eternal torments, and yet reprieved, and in a state to sue out a pardon, reverse the sentence, obtain favour, and be made eternally happy; for such a one to complain, there is no reason for it; he hath more cause to admire the mercy, patience, forbearance, long-suffering, and free grace of God. The worst condition a sinner can be in, so long as he is kept out of hell, there is mercy in it: but in my case there are many mercies, so that I have cause to be thankful; my mercies are more and greater than my sufferings; God's dispensations towards me are mercy and judgment, as David saith, Psalm ci. There is a bright side and dark side; both ought to be meditated on; that the sense of my sufferings may not cause me to faint, nor the apprehension of my mercies and blessing cause me to slight or despise the chastening of the Lord, Hebrews xii., 5.

"First then, to consider the bright side; the mercies I enjoy; for the general, I am a living man, health is vouchsafed, comfortable and affectionate relations continued, plenty of worldly good things bestowed, so that, if I should be deprived of what is sentenced against me, there would remain more than I had at first. But, above all, this is a most transcendent mercy, that God hath not suffered me to take up with the world as my portion, but hath given me desires to fix upon Himself as my happiness; and this both sweetens this cross, and alleviates this burden, and engageth me through Jesus Christ not only to submit to His will, and resign up all to God's

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disposal, but to delight myself more in the thoughts and apprehensions of God, as that portion that cannot be taken away. More particularly :—

"1st.—In my present case there is this great mercy as to the cause of my sufferings, that it is not for evil doing, however my adversaries may suggest; my conscience bears me witness that I did nothing out of malice to any, or on any sinister design, but sincerely what I deemed my duty in the circumstances, fairly in a legal way to assert and vindicate the rights and liberties of the City, which I (and many others) apprehend to be invaded; touching which much might be said, but I forbear, and content myself only to acknowledge the mercy of God to me, that did so guide me in all the passages thereof that my adversaries upon the trial could not prove the least evil against me, but on the contrary the very witnesses they brought did rather vindicate me, so that had not the Jury taken upon them to judge of the heart, which is God's prerogative, and ought not to be judged by man without evident demonstration; in fact, they would not have found it against me. It's true they were told, That malice is a secret thing that lay in the heart; but at the same time, by the *same person*,* they were also told, That whatever he said, that was not in proof before them, was to go for nothing, so that they ought to have considered only the evidence given of the fact, and if thereby there appeared no unjust and malicious proceeding, they should have acquitted me; and not judged according to the imagination of *their* hearts of *mine*. The Lord forgive them.†

* The Judge.

† Papillon adduces only the just portion of the Judge's address to the Jury, and thus throws on the latter the whole blame of their Verdict; but as noticed in Chapter XI., after arguing justly on the merits of the case the Judge launched out into so much partisan and personal invective against Papillon, that he swayed the Jury into finding an adverse Verdict.

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"2ndly.—There is this mercy to be owned and acknowledged, That God hath restrained the wrath and wickedness of man against me. Though He hath suffered them thus far to proceed, to touch my Estate or liberty, yet to what might not malice have extended, if God had not withheld it? The Devil and wicked men are limited, and cannot do that hurt, that many times they would, to the children of God. Satan at first could not touch Job's person, and afterwards could not touch his life.

"3rdly.—It is a great mercy, That my sufferings are such, that many good and godly people do sympathize with me and do bear with me upon their hearts before the Lord for the obtaining of mercy and blessings for me and mine.

"4thly.—It is a mercy, That God hath given me a son, who I hope is truly gracious, of years of discretion to take care of his, not to say my, concerns; which are the main as to outward things, for a little will serve me for the rest of my time; my endeavours as to concerns in the affairs of the world being only for my Children.

"5thly.—I esteem it a great mercy, and bless God, That in His providence he directed me in my retirement to Mr. T. C., who, both himself and his Wife, are truly and sincerely godly and religious, in whose conversation, and in the exercise of religious duties in their family, I have received much advantage and consolation: Their kindness and love hath been very great to me; I desire to see God in it, and beg of Him to return it a thousand-fold on them and their's.

"All those mercies and favours, in general and in particular, I partake of from God, even in and under my present sufferings; and have I not then cause to be thankful, and to admire God's goodness, and to rejoice in the Lord?

"1.—When I consider my own deserts, by reason of

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sin, which render me unworthy of the least mercy, and obnoxious to the greatest judgments, so that the greatest sufferings in this life are far less than my iniquities deserve; and

"2.—When I consider, and can by the eye of faith see, the gracious designs of God towards me in this afflicting providence, that it is the chastisement of a father for my profit, that I may be made partaker of His holiness; that I may have more of the presence of God in, and reap the peaceable fruits of righteousness by, my sufferings, both of which I desire to consider and meditate upon. I only now mention them, and so come,

"Secondly, To consider my present case as to the dark side of it, as it is an afflictive evil.

"1stly.—To have the malice and rage of men let out against me; to have reproaches, slanders, and calumnies vented to render me odious, and to insinuate as if I were in design with those that were flatterers against his Majesty, my lawful Sovereign, which I did, and do from my heart, abominate, esteeming myself obliged by the principles of the Christian religion which I profess, to be a faithful and loyal subject. This is very grievous, and a sore affliction.

"2ndly.—To have a Verdict of £10,000 passed against me, a very great sum to be taken from my Estate, gained in a long tract of time by the blessing of God on my labours; and to be deprived thereof, and have it ravished from me in a moment, is a very sore and great affliction.

"3rdly.—That on this occasion I am deprived of the comfortable enjoyment of my Wife and Children; forced to leave my habitation to preserve my liberty; and by this means to lose my trade and employment. This cannot but be very bitter.

"4thly.—To be necessitated to be absent from the public

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worship of God, in the assemblies of His people, and so from the participation of the blessed Sacrament—is yet more grievous.

"This is the state and condition I am now in, and though exceeding sad, yet God's mercies to me are many and great, so that there is great cause for thankfulness and admiring God's goodness, and great cause for humiliation and self-abasement under God's afflicting hand, and for searching into the cause of God's displeasure, and as the Church saith, To search and try my ways, and to turn to the Lord; and I might in the next place enquire into the reason of that malice and prejudice that is in the minds of men against me; but in regard my conscience bears testimony to me, that I have not given any just cause thereof, having in public places to which I have been called, laboured to discharge my duty to God, my King, and my Country, without any bye or sinister end or design whatever, I shall therefore remain silent, and wait till any of my adversaries will let me know the cause of their ill will towards me, and then doubt not to clear up my innocency as to man; and I rather choose to avoid this, lest it might through my corrupt nature become a temptation on me to make my heart rise against some persons. It is more profitable for me to consider the righteousness of God in this afflicting providence, and to examine what sins I may be guilty of, whereby I have displeased His holy Majesty, and brought this affliction on me; as also what God's design towards me may be in this chastisement, and what improvement I shall make thereof; therefore,

"2ndly.—I desire to consider God's righteousness, and my own sinfulness; I have deserved greater punishments and chastisements from God; the corrupt fountain of sin in

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my nature and the many sins of my life, both of commission and omission, may justly humble me before God; but in a special and peculiar affliction there may be some special sins that may occasion it. It concerns me then to enquire out the Achan, the Judas—the special sins for which God sends this affliction.

"1stly.—I cannot but in the first place observe a very great evil, and as the womb of many others, the looseness and vanity of my mind, and sinfulness of my thoughts; my heart should always be fixed on God as the centre of my happiness, and on His glory as the end of my being; and all my thoughts, words, and actions, should be directed to the glory of God and my enjoyment of Him: but through the looseness of my mind and thoughts oftentimes my very religious services have been rendered sinful, while I have not had my heart fixed on the great end, but loose and at rovers, so that I have not served God with intenseness of soul and delight of heart, as I ought to have done; and besides this, many times both in the day and night, my mind and fancy have been filled with sinful and vain conceptions and imaginations, which have not always as they ought been repelled—but too, too often harboured and pored upon—whereby I have been defiled, and have grieved the holy Spirit of God, and so become unsuited to communion with God, and to the spiritual performance of duty by the withdrawing of the quickening Spirit, and withholding of His divine influences.

"A serious and steady and fixed frame of heart for God, is that I find a want of; for which I mourn and earnestly desire that God would unite my heart to fear His name.

"2ndly.—I am sensible that I have not so diligently minded my soul's eternal concerns—and as the Apostle

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exhorts, given all diligence to make my calling and election sure,—I have not seriously and so frequently as I ought set myself to the examination of my own heart and ways, to prove my own work, but have been apt to much slightness and carelessness in this great work. God shews me the uncertainty of all things of this world, to engage me to be more diligent in my endeavours to make me sure of heaven.

"3rdly.—I am convinced of much pride and worldliness.

"1.—In letting out our minds to seek after great things in the world for ourselves and Children, especially when we apprehend God is pulling down. This was Baruch's sin, in xlv. Jeremiah.

"2.—In that, too frequently, thoughts of self-advancing, and the esteem and praise of men, have mingled themselves in those transactions wherein I have been engaged in the public and other concerns, and sometimes even in religious duties. Oh, the evil that is in the heart, that root of corruption that takes occasion from God to ensnare to sin! As God is pleased by the falls and failings of His people to do them good, and make them more humble and more watchful, so Satan and my corrupt heart take occasion from the good God enables me to do, to tempt me to pride and self pleasing with the esteem of men. This is a great evil, to be deeply bewailed and strove against. Though I can say, I hope, through grace, that in the main I have not made these my end, yet I am sensible such thoughts and workings steal in too often on the heart. Now God in this providence shews us that we should have our minds taken off from the world, which is so uncertain, and can so soon be taken from us; and that when we, through corruption, take occasion to sin, through the good God enables us to do, God can make our enemies correct us, by misrepresenting our

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actions, and vilifying our persons; wherein however unjust it is in them, yet it is most righteous in God.

"4thly.—In response to others, the Church of God, and the Public, I find myself guilty before God.

"1st.—That I have not so thoroughly laid to heart, and been afflicted with, so as to mourn and be deeply humbled before God, for the sins of others professing the true Religion, whereby God's holy name hath been dishonoured, and His holy religion scandalised and evil spoken of. The atheism and contempt of God and the power of godliness, the whoredoms, drunkenness, swearing, and debauchery—the idolatry, superstition, and placing more in modes and external forms, than in the inward and spiritual part of religion—the hatred, malice, and envy in the hearts of men, one against another, breaking out and shewing itself in evil-speakings, revilings, and rejoicings in the evils that come on them, laying snares to entrap men; injustice, oppression, perjury, frequent murders—a sin grown ordinary and too often pardoned—and many the like, as also the wicked designs of some miscreants to have taken away the life of the King at Newmarket, the persons therein involved being said to be Protestants, but I am sure therein acting quite contrary to the principles of that Religion, however from thence the enemies of our Religion, the Papists, have taken great occasion to vilify the true Religion and to advance their false one, though it is evident to them that will not shut their eyes, that the Papists have been guilty of more cruelties, massacres, dethroning, murdering, and assassinating kings, and other public persons, than any other sort of men in the world, and that such things have been countenanced, allowed, and made matter of thanksgiving by the public authority of that Church, as the learned Bishop of Lincoln and others have evinced to the world. Alas! how ready have

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I been apt to complain of any injury or wrong done to myself, when in the meantime the dishonour of God, and the scandal brought about on the true Religion, hath not touched me as it ought. This sin I was convinced of, from the practice of holy David, Psalm cxix., 158, "I beheld the transgressors and was grieved because they kept not thy law;" he was grieved, not because these men did him injury, persecuted him, and were his enemies, and sought his ruin, but because they kept not God's law. God was dishonoured by them.

"2ndly.—In not being of a more sympathising spirit, and affected with the sufferings of the people of God in all parts of the world, and drawn out in prayer for them, for grace to support and carry them through all, to the honour of God and religion, and for deliverance in God's due time.

"3rdly.—In not being more affected with the condition of the Church of God in the world, hearing of the persecutions and hardships under which the people of God are, and by the general course of things apprehending many and great confederacies against them, in conjunction with anti-Christ, to root out the name of Israel, the true Protestant religion, out of the world; and to hear these things only as common news, without having the heart touched, and applying to God by earnest prayer, to arise and have mercy upon Zion—is a great evil.

"4thly.—In not being more zealous and sincere, and fervent in prayer for the Magistrates and Ministers; I have not neglected this totally, but I confess I have not done it with the spirit and affection as I ought. It is an Apostolical injunction, to pray 'for kings and all in authority, that under them we may lead peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty;' and there are frequent injunctions to pray for Ministers. Our Lord Jesus Christ

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himself requires that we should 'pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers into His harvest.' If we meet not with what we expect and look for from these public persons, we ought to reflect, and consider whether we have discharged our duties towards them in praying for them; I can say as to the King himself, I have hardly ever gone to prayer but I have with desire begged a blessing from the Lord on him; as to others in general, I have been too remiss and careless. The Ministers, many truly godly, are laid aside and persecuted, while the Jews and Papists, against whom there are severe laws, are not molested. Many that preach in public do not preach Christ, but themselves, and to please men, to gain preferment; and turn the institution of God for promulgating the Gospel and converting souls only to a carnal and politic end. Many are debauched, and loose in their principles and practices, so that it may be said, Profaneness and wickedness hath gone out into the land from the Priests; yet this hath not been so thoroughly bewailed and mourned for, as it ought, &c.

"These sins, when I consider the manifold convictions I have had from God's word, by His Spirit, on my conscience, the many mercies God hath pleased from time to time to vouchsafe me, affording His assistance in the discharge of duties He called me to, His blessing in my calling and family, His protection and deliverance from dangers, especially the Great Plague, and keeping me from snares, together with the many engagements I have made to God of close and spiritual walking before Him, are exceedingly and greatly aggravated, as becoming sins against knowledge, high ingratitude, and great unfaithfulness; and therefore I must acknowledge God is righteous; yea, my God is merciful; 'He hath not dealt with me according to my sins, nor rewarded me according

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to mine iniquities,' but hath spared and pitied me as a gracious Father, Psalm ciii., 13, 14., and I may say as Ezra ix., 13, 'My Lord hath punished me less than mine iniquities have deserved.'

"Now, therefore, it remains that I should seriously consider God's design in bringing this affliction upon me, and what improvement I should make of it.

"Certainly, God intends I should get my heart truly affected and humbled before him for all my sins, both of commission and omission—the sin of my nature and the sins of my life—that I should confess and forsake them, particularly those before mentioned; repent after a godly sort, and by faith apply to God in Christ for the pardoning of them, that through the blood of Christ they may be washed away, blotted out of the book of God's remembrance; that God may be reconciled to me through the Lord Jesus, and that from Him I may receive divine grace and communications of strength to subdue and mortify every corrupt affection, and to discharge and perform every duty God requires, not only as to the external acts, but in that frame of heart and in that spiritual manner that is suitable and pleasing to God, Who is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and in truth; that I should labour after a more fixed and settled frame of heart for God; be more diligent in working out my salvation, and assuring to my soul well grounded evidences of a future happiness; get my heart more weaned from the world, as vain and unable to afford any real satisfaction; and to bring under self and all self-advancing thoughts, and to make it my design to exalt God, and to glorify Him; to be more affected and grieved at God's dishonour than my own sufferings; to be more carried forth in desires for the good of the

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Church; to have a fellow-feeling for the sufferings of God's people, to be more in earnest in prayer for them and the Church of God, and for the Magistrates and Ministers; and in all to make God my Great end.

"O Lord my God, enable me hereunto; and let me be taught of Thee, that I may partake of that blessedness pronounced in Thy Word as the portion of those whom Thou correctest and teachest out of Thy Law. That I may be able to say from experience, as David, 'It is good for me that I have been afflicted that I might learn Thy statutes.'"

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SANCTITY OF THE SABBATH.

About a year after he reached Holland as an Exile, Thomas Papillon wrote the following treatise on the *Sanctity of the Sabbath*, in response to an appeal from the friend at Amsterdam who had kindly afforded him domicile on his arrival—Mr. Paul D'Aranda :—

"THOUGH it is some time since I had from you an invitation to communicate my thoughts concerning the obligation that lies on Christians of keeping the Lord's Day in a religious manner, and diligently to attend on the preaching of the Word in public, and in the exercise of other private and religious family duties, yet being conscious of my own weakness and insufficiency, and knowing how acute you are, and how well versed in the controversies touching these matters—having as I understand read much, if not most, of what hath been written about them—I have hitherto remained silent; but this thing revolving in my mind, lest I should be wanting on my part to one whom I so really love, and whose spiritual as well as temporal good I so heartily desire, I have now resolved as a Christian friend to write unto you with all freedom, entreating you to take it in good part as it is really intended, and without prejudice seriously and unbiassedly to consider things in the presence of God, before Whom we must shortly appear, when the secrets of all hearts shall be discovered.

"Touching the disputes concerning the morality of the Sabbath, and the change of the seventh to the first day of the week, now called the Lord's Day, I desire not to perplex my mind therewith; I find that our Lord's

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resurrection was on the first day of the week; that afterwards, all His appearances to His Disciples mentioned particularly in the Evangelists (except one spoken of in John xxi.) were on the first day of the week, when they were assembled together; that the Disciples were assembled together, and received the unction of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, being the first day of the week; that it was the succeeding practice of the Christians to assemble the first day of the week for Religious Worship, Acts xx., 7., I. Corinthians xvi., 2, and that it was called the *Lord's Day.* Revelation i., 10.

"Certain it is from the very light of natural reason, if we own a God, we must acknowledge he ought to be worshipped both publicly and privately. If so, then there must be a time for worship. What time shall that be? It cannot be at every man's arbitrament, because we are to worship God publicly, in a community, as well as privately in retirement; the practice of the Apostles and primitive Christians, and the universal consent of the Church of God ever since, seem to me sufficient to determine us in this matter.

"But some may suggest and say, We do not speak against the Lord's Day, nor plead for the Jewish seventh-day Sabbath, but we say,

"1.—If it be a moral institution, then the day should be kept with the strictness and exactness that the Jews kept their Sabbath under the Law, and

"If it be not, then we are not precisely obliged to that day, nor to spend the whole time in religious service, but may, as occasion offers, employ ourselves in the affairs of our callings, or in recreations, at least before the public worship begins, and after it is ended.

"For answer to this, waiving the controversy touching the morality of the Sabbath,—As to the first supposition,

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I satisfy myself with what our Saviour answered to the Pharisees on this very subject in Matthew xii. the beginning, and verses 7 and 8, and thence conclude that there is a greater latitude to Christians under the Gospel dispensation, and that all acts of mercy and charity in reference to ourselves and others, and whatever may tend to our more cheerfully serving of God, is allowed on the Lord's Day.

"And as to the inference from the other supposition, in cases of absolute necessity, where delay would be ruinous, as when a house is on fire, a ship laden with goods sunk or stranded, an enemy coming upon us, &c., I think the aforementioned rule laid down by our Saviour gives a dispensation; but we must beware lest the corruption that is in our own hearts draw us off from the service of God's people, and from family and closet retirement.

"I am induced to be of this belief:—

"1.—In general, on consideration of what our Saviour saith in Mark ii., 27, that 'the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath;' the words are very plain and positive, and spoken by Him Who is truth itself, and therefore not to be denied; and hence there seems to me to be a very cogent argument deducible. If the Lord made the Sabbath for man, methinks it clearly follows that it is man's duty to improve the Sabbath. God made all things very good, and nothing in vain; He made the Sabbath for man, *i.e.*, for man's good and benefit; certainly man is then obliged to improve it for that end for which it was made. May not this be accounted a talent entrusted to us? and we know how sad the case of that man was in Matthew xxv., 30, who was an unprofitable servant, and improved not his talent that God had entrusted him with. The Lord grant it may not be the case of any of us.

"'The Sabbath was made for man.' When was it made? Surely first at the creation; which by the way seems to

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me to thwart, if not overthrow, the conceit of those that pretend to say there was no Sabbath observed till the Mosaical dispensation.

"'The Sabbath was made for man.' What! for no other end but that man should be idle and rest from bodily labour? I cannot think that any endued with a rational soul, and acting suitably thereto, can allow themselves in such a notion, which would be to make man no more of a man than a brute. Idleness is charged in Scripture for a sin; it must surely be a higher rest that man is called to, viz., To the contemplation of the Lord, his Creator and Redeemer, in all His great and glorious works, so as to bring his soul unto the exercise of Faith and Love, and other Christian Graces; and to rest in God in Christ, his ultimate and eternal blessedness: Hence, the Sabbath, in many places in the Old Testament, is called a holy day, a Sabbath of rest to the Lord, Exodus xxxv., 2; and there is spoken of, a rest for our souls, Jeremiah vi., 16; and David saith in Psalm cxvi., 7, 'Return unto thy rest, O my soul.'

"In the New Testament we find our recovery from a state of sin and wrath to a state of Grace; and reconciliation is called a rest for our souls, Matthew xi., 28, 29. The blessedness of heaven is called a rest, II. Thessalonians i., 7; and we read in Hebrews iii., 4, of God's rest, and of our entering into it: Surely then, this rest that Christians on the Sabbath should labour after, is a spiritual rest; and the outward and bodily rest, in abstaining from all worldly and secular affairs, is required that our souls may be the more free from those incumbrances to attend upon the Lord without distraction, as the Apostle phrases it in I. Corinthians vii., 35.

"If any shall oppose, and say that I plead for a Jewish observance of a seventh-day Sabbath, I answer, In no wise.

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I have before declared what satisfieth me as to the change of the seventh day to the first day of the week, and that I desire not to intermeddle with the nice disputes of or concerning the morality of the Sabbath; and truly I fear those disputes do not promote godliness, and were better avoided, as some others of which the Apostle speaks in I. Timothy vi., 3, 4, 5, and II. Timothy ii., 16-23. I shall only observe that this passage of our Saviour, before insisted on, seems to me, considering the preceding and following words, to prove two things:—

"1.—That all such works as are necessary to the upholding life, and the better disposing us for the service of God, may be lawfully done on the Lord's Day; this is plain, by our Saviour justifying His disciples in pulling the ears of corn, and David in taking the shew-bread.

"2.—That our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, is Lord of the Sabbath, and hath power and authority to change the Sabbath from the seventh day to the first day of the week; which is also plain from our Saviour's inference from this position in the following verse, 'therefore,' &c.

"You will say, shew me that the Lord Jesus hath made such a change; I answer as before, That Christ's rising, Christ's constant appearing to His disciples, the practice of the Apostles and the primitive Christians, and of the universal Church of Christ ever since, with whom Christ promised His blessed presence—is to me fully satisfying.

"In Zephaniah iii., towards the latter end, which is undoubtedly a prophecy of the times of the Gospel, God saith, 'The Lord thy God in the midst of thee is mighty; He will save, He will rejoice over thee with joy; He will rest in His love, and He will joy over thee with singing.' Will God rest in His love towards us, and shall not we make it our work and business on the Lord's Day to bring

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our souls to rest on God in Christ, and to take all our delight and satisfaction in Him alone?

"For a conclusion of this general consideration, I would put the following queries to them that neglect the sanctifying the Lord's Day, and employ it in the works of their callings, or in carnal pleasure and recreations.

"1.—What time do you set apart, seriously and in sincerity to examine your own hearts, and to consider how matters stand between God and you, as to the eternal concernments of your souls?

"2.—What time do you take, in a solemn and spiritual manner, to commemorate the work of God in Creation, Providence, and especially in Redemption, so as to give God the praise and glory of all His glorious perfections shining forth in them, and so as to bring your souls into the exercise of repentance, humility, faith, love, joy, delight in God, and to rest with holy confidence in God in Christ as your portion and happiness? A gracious soul will never leave seeking after God till he comes to this rest and satisfaction in God. Whoever takes not time for these things, and is not serious and spiritual in them, it is to be feared that the true reason of his declining Sabbath sanctification in public and private is because he hath a worldly, corrupt, and carnal heart, and never yet tasted that the Lord is gracious—but is a stranger to God, and void of true Grace. To such therefore I further query—

"3.—What do you think will be your condition at the Day of Judgment? God made the Sabbath for you, gave it you as a talent to be improved for His glory and your soul's good, made provision in the Gospel Ordinances, as in Luke xiv., 16, &c., but you slighted His day, neglected the improvement of this talent, and for worldly concerns made light of His invitations and provisions in the Gospel. What will you have to plead or say for yourself? Will it

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think you, be an available excuse to say you scrupled the morality of the fourth commandment, and doubted whether Christ ever appointed the change from the seventh to the first day of the week, when as in truth you set apart no days or fixed time to be employed and improved in a solemn and spiritual manner for the worship of God, and the working out your own salvation?

"4.—More particularly, I believe it is my duty and interest to keep and improve the Lord's Day in a holy and spiritual manner as before mentioned, on account of the several duties both public and private, to which I am to attend; to all of which I find myself indispensably obliged, in respect of both duty and interest, they being not only commanded and enjoined by Divine authority, but also instituted and appointed as means for my good and salvation, in the performance whereof in that spiritual manner God requires, I worship the Lord, owning and acknowledging that homage I owe to His Sovereign Majesty, and expect and wait for (of His goodness and mercy) the communications of His Grace, and the manifestations of His love in Christ, for my conversion, sanctification, consolation, and eternal salvation.

"The public duties are, hearing the Word preached, and joining with the Church and the people of God in prayer, and in celebrating the praises of God, and receiving the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

"The private duties are, in the first place, to prepare myself by sweet and closet meditation and prayer; and if I be a Master of a family, to endeavour that those under my charge may be prepared for the worship of God in public; and to that end, to pray with them; and then after the public worship is ended, to retire apart, to seek for His blessing, and seriously to consider and examine myself concerning the frame and temper, of my

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heart in God's service, so as to be humbled and beg pardon for all my failings and miscarriages, and to give God praise for any assistance or otherwise of His Grace, and to call to mind the words I have heard, and by meditation and application to fix them on my own heart, and also to help those of my family what I am able, and pray with them.

"To attend on the preaching of the Word of God, is both my duty and my interest.

"This it is my duty, I gather:—

"1.—From Christ's appointing persons to preach, as in Matthew xxviii., 19, and Mark xvi., 16, 'Go ye into the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' 'When He ascended up on high He led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men,' 'and He gave some Apostles,' &c. (I. Corinthians xii., 28, Ephesians iv., 8-11.) Now if Christ hath appointed such officers to preach, it is certainly my duty to hear. In II. Corinthians v., 20, Ministers are said to be 'Ambassadors for Christ.' Doth the Lord send ambassadors to us, and shall we refuse and neglect to hear their message? This is to slight God himself, for Christ tells us in Luke x., 16, 'He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me and he that despiseth Me despiseth Him that sent Me.'

"2.—From the many commands and injunctions thereunto, in the Old Testament, Deuteronomy iv., 1, v., 1, vi., 3, 'Hear, O Israel,' &c.; It's the language of all the Prophets, 'Hear ye the Word of the Lord:' The wise man calleth us to this in Proverbs i., 8, iv., 1-10, viii., 33; and in the New Testament the Apostle tells us in Hebrews i., that God who formerly in divers manners spake to the fathers by the Prophets, in the last days hath spoken to us by His Son; and we are enjoined by God himself, by

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a voice from heaven, Matthew xvii., 5. Luke ix., 35, 'This is My beloved Son; hear Him.' Now Christ is gone to heaven, how shall we hear Him? He Himself tells us that to hear His Ministers, sent in His name, is to hear Him, as in that aforementioned place, Luke x., 16. 'He that heareth you heareth Me'; and the Apostle James requires and enjoins in his chapter i., 9, that every one should be 'swift to hear.' To this I might add those injunctions in the Gospel, and in Revelation ii., iii., 'Let him that hath an ear hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches,' and also those cautions, Mark iv., 24, Luke viii., 18, Take heed how, and what, ye hear; all which implies it is our duty to attend the ministry of the Word. But it is not only my duty but also my interest and great concern, carefully and diligently, to attend the preaching of the Word; and in that I am fully satisfied—for

"1.—I find that preaching is instituted and appointed as the ordinary means of Conversion and Salvation. The Apostle tells us, Titus i., 2, 3, That God manifests His word, that is His promise of eternal life, through preaching; and in Ephesians iii., 8, 9, he saith, This grace was given to him, that he 'should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ,' and 'to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world was hid in God.' In 1. Corinthians i., 21, he tells us that it pleased God 'by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe;' that is—though the world count and esteem preaching foolishness, yet it is that way by which God is pleased to bring His people to Salvation; and in Romans x., having quoted that promise out of the prophet Joel, that 'Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved,' the Apostle argues an impossibility of Salvation in the ordinary way without preaching, 'How shall they call

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on Him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?' And then concludes that faith is wrought by hearing the Word of God preached; and the same Apostle in Galatians iii., speaking to them that cried up the works of the Law, saith in verse 2, 'This one thing I would know, received you the Spirit by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of faith,' intimating plainly that the Spirit of His saving gifts and graces was communicated in and by the preaching of the Gospel; and in Acts xxvi., 18, we read that by was sent a preacher to the Gentiles, to open their one and 'to turn them from darkness to light, and from ars, power of Satan unto God, that they might receh forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that ard sanctified through faith that is in Christ.' It is in the preaching of the Gospel that we, 'beholding as in a glass, the glory of God, are changed into the same image from glory to glory,' II. Corinthians iii., 18. God who commanded light to shine out of darkness, in the preaching of the Gospel, gives the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, II. Corinthians iv., 5, 6.

"2.—I find many gracious promises to them that attend conscientiously the preaching of the Word, Isaiah lv., 8, 'Hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.' In Proverbs viii., 34, 'Blessed is the man that heareth Me, watching daily at My gates, waiting at the posts of My doors.' In John v., 25, 'The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.' Luke xi., 28, 'Blessed are they that hear the Word of God, and keep it.' John v., 24, 'He that heareth My Word, and believeth on Him that sent Me, hath everlasting life.' Revelation iii., 20, 'Behold I stand at the door and

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knock.' How doth Christ knock? By His Spirit, in the ministry of the Word; so the following words expound it, 'If any man hear My voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with Me.'

"3.—I find that as preaching was instituted by God as the ordinary means of Conversion, and hath many promises annexed to it, so also that it hath been accompanied with success, God sending His Spirit, to make His Word efficacious, as our Lord Jesus Christ promised His Apostles to be with them to the end of the world. We read in Chur[illegible] ii. and iv., of thousands converted at two sermons; 18, Philip's preaching and success in chapter viii.; of it i[illegible]rnelius in chapter x., being directed to send for Peter it preach to him, with the effect thereof. Of Lydia, co[illegible]hapter xvi., and in the following history; as also in o[illegible]Paul's Epistles we read what great success his preaching had in every place; and the Apostle Peter tells them to whom he wrote, that they were 'born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God that liveth and abideth for ever.' I. Peter i., 23.

"4.—I find very severe threatenings against those that slight and neglect the hearing of the Word. A famine of the Word is threatened as one of the greatest judgments, Amos viii., 11; and contrariwise it is promised in Isaiah xxx., 20, as the greatest blessing that they should 'see their teachers,' and that they should not be driven into corners. In Proverbs i., 24, 26, it says, 'Because I have called, and ye refused; I have streched out my hand, and no man regarded,' 'I also will laugh at your calamity,' &c. In Proverbs xxviii., 9, 'He that turneth away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be abomination.' In Psalm lxxxi., 12, 'My people would not hearken, so I gave them up to their own hearts lusts.' In Isaiah lxv., 12, 'Therefore will I number you to the sword, because

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when I called ye did not answer, when I spake ye did not hear,' and to the same purpose in Isaiah lxvi., 4, and Zechariah vii., 7-13. In Matthew x., 14, and Mark vi., 11, Christ tells us that it should be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of Judgment than for them that did not receive and hear His Ministers.

"I might further enlarge on this particular. It was the commendation of Mary that she attended on Christ's preaching, and our Saviour tells her (Luke x., 41, 42) that 'one thing was needful,' and she had chosen that gable part. It is the character of Christ's sheep to hear iby voice (John x., 27) of them that are of the truth (Jone xviii., 37) of them that are of God (John viii., 47) ars, of them that know God (1. John iv., 6); and on the contrary, they that slight and neglect to hear God's Word —the two last-mentioned Scriptures tell us they are not of God; as Dr. Horton in his sermon on John viii., 30, page 96 saith, 'They that despise preaching, despise conversion and regeneration, and the work of Grace to be wrought in them, and so, in conclusion, Salvation itself; which is no more than Paul says of the unbelieving Jews, who put from them the preaching of the Word, and thereby judged themselves unworthy of everlasting life.' Acts xiii., 46.

"*Objection I.*

"Some will possibly say, May we not attend on the preaching of the Word on week-days, as well as on the Lord's Day?

"*Answer.*—I answer, That I esteem it both laudable and commendable, when there is opportunity, and that I can redeem time from my calling and family concerns, to attend on this ordinance of God on the week-day as well as on the Lord's Day, but I do in no wise believe that I may decline and forbear attendance on the public

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preaching on the Lord's Day, and by hearing on the week-day supply the same, so as thereby to answer my duty to God and my own soul—for

"1.—I consider, as before said, that God made the Sabbath for man, and therefore I am convinced that I ought to improve it, even that whole day, for my spiritual benefit.

"I consider, that though I should question whether under the Gospel, God hath appointed any peculiar day to him for His service, yet considering the practice of Chu[illegible] Apostles and primitive Christians, I am not and cannot 18, certain that He hath not: And if the Lord's Day it of Divine institution, I apprehend that even the worship it and service of God on another day, with neglect of it in the time of God's appointing, will be so far from acceptable and pleasing to God, that it will be displeasing to Him. That expression is remarkable in 1. Kings xii., 33, as testifying God's dislike of Jeroboam's service, that it was 'the month which he had devised of his own heart;' therefore, in doubtful cases, as this, I judge the safe and sure way the most eligible.

"3.—Whatever can be said against the Divine institution of the Christian Sabbath, yet as the state of affairs in the world are at present, I cannot but conclude that the Lord's Day is the most proper and fit season for my attendance on the preaching of the Word. To worship and honour God, and to benefit my own soul by my attendance, it is necessary that my mind be free from worldly thoughts and incumbrances; and therefore I am to labour by serious meditation and prayer beforehand to prepare my heart that I may be in a suitable and spiritual frame; and then afterwards, it is necessary that I take time to meditate on the truths I have heard, to examine the same by Scripture, and my own state and condition, and that I

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endeavour to fix them on my soul, and pray to the Lord for His Grace, that I may live in the comfort and practice of them.

"To speak particularly in reference to preparation—and afterwards how I should improve the occasion—is too large a subject for a letter; I shall therefore only mention some few Scriptures which convince me that as it is of great concern to me to come, so also is it how I come to this Ordinance.

"In Matthew xiii. and Luke viii. we have the parable of the sower, with the interpretation of it; and we thereby plainly learn that there is both something to be done previous to hearing the Word, viz., plucking up the thorns, removing the stones, and preparing the ground, *i.e.*, our own hearts; and also something subsequent, viz., to take heed that the seed be not devoured by the fowls, that is, lest the devil catch or take the Word out of our hearts. The prophet Jeremiah speaks of the first of these (iv., 3) 'Break up the fallow ground, and sow not among thorns;' and to the same purpose the prophet Hosea (x., 12); also in I. Peter ii., 1, 2. The Apostle exhorts to 'lay aside all malice, and all guile and hypocrisies, and envy and evil speakings, and as new born babes to desire the sincere milk of the Word, that we may grow thereby;' and as to the latter, concerning the Devil's obstructing the efficacy of the Word, we read in II. Corinthians iv., 24, 'If the Gospel be hid it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, Who is the image of God, should shine unto them.' The ministry of the Gospel is to some 'a savour of life unto life, and to others of death unto death' (II. Corinthians ii., 16), and therefore it behoves us to mind that caution in Mark iv., and Luke viii. to take heed how and what we

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hear; and to imitate the Bereans, who are commended (Acts xvii., 11) for that they received the Word with readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures whether those things that were preached to them were so or no; and also the Thessalonians who received the Word not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the Word of God (I. Thessalonians ii., 13).

"Now, if so much work lies upon me before I come to the preaching of the Word, and so much after—what time or season can be so fit and proper as the Lord's Day, on which there is a cessation of all worldly negotiations in public, when my mind may be free from the embarrass of those affairs, which on the week-day is very difficult for a person in trade—and if we consider the corruption of our own hearts, almost impossible?

"The wise man saith (Ecclesiastes iii.) that there is a time and season for every purpose; and in Ecclesiastes viii., 6, 7, that it is a man's misery not to know it: I find in Scripture much touching this particular—David—Psalm lxix., 13, speaks of praying in an acceptable time, &c.

"In II. Timothy iv., 2, the Apostle enjoins Timothy to 'preach the Word in season and out of season.' I will not enquire critically what those words import, but since the preaching of the Gospel is continued, and that it is an indispensable duty, and my great interest and concern, to attend thereon, and that the Lord's Day appears to me to be the most fit and proper season for that purpose, and that there may be great danger in neglecting the season—I desire and am resolved by the Grace of God, whatever others do, never to neglect that season—though I think it my advantage, when I can redeem time without prejudice to the affairs of my calling and family, to attend to the preaching of the Gospel on the week-day also.

"To those that are of another mind, and absent them-

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selves from the public worship on the Lord's Day, and employ their time on that day in the affairs of their callings, as in casting up their accounts, writing in their books, and the like, or in recreations not unlawful in themselves, and think it sufficient to go to a week-day's sermon, besides what is before said, I would propound to them the following queries and considerations :—

"1.—Whether they think it will be pleasing to God, or that it is reasonable in itself, that God, from Whom they have life, and being, and all that they enjoy, should be put off with an hour, or an hour and a half's service on a week-day, in the midst of the hurry of worldly business, when He gives them a whole day that may be employed for that end? And whether this may not expose them to that curse denounced in Malachi i., 14?

"2.—Whether they do indeed conscientiously attend on the preaching of the Word and worship of God on the week-day, for though they may so speak in way of argument, it can hardly be believed that they who neglect the service of God on the Lord's Day will be careful, or make much conscience, of giving God spiritual worship on the week-day; and surely to neglect God's worship on the Lord's Day on pretence that they will attend it on the week-day, and then do it not, or at least not in that serious and spiritual manner it ought to be, cannot but be very provoking to God, and consequently destructive to their own souls, unless they repent.

"3.—Why cannot they do those works of their callings, and take those recreations, on the week-day, when they may do it without the hazard of sinning and provoking God's displeasure against them? They pretend to take time on the week-day to attend on the preaching of God's Word; that time might without doubt be lawfully employed in their callings or recreations. If the business of their

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trades or callings be so much that they cannot compass it in the six days of the week, or that they find on the Lord's Day a greater freedom from company and interruptions, and so take that time to sit the closer, and the better to despatch their counting-house business; and in reference to recreations, if they choose the Lord's Day because they cannot spare time in the week for diversions, or because on that day more persons are at leisure to accompany them in such pastimes; if any of these be the true reasons for their neglecting the duties of religion on the Lord's Day (which I refer to their own conscience) then whatever they may pretend or scruple and doubt touching the morality of the Sabbath—it is plain that Sin lieth at the door; and that they mind, love, and prefer their worldly profits and pleasures before and above the great concerns of religion, and their soul's eternal welfare, and therein are very unlike the children of God and in danger of eternal perdition.

"The kingly prophet David tells us that it was the one thing he desired and sought after, 'to dwell in the house of the Lord, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in His temple,' (Psalm xxvii., 4); that he found more gladness in the discoveries of God's favour, than in the increase of worldly goods (Psalm iv., 6, 7); and hence it was that he so thirsted after, and followed hard after God, to see His power and glory in the sanctuary, as he expresses it in Psalm lxiii., 1-3, and to the same purpose in Psalm xlii. and lxxxiv. He speaks of some, in Psalm xvii., 14, who had their portion in this life, but he would not be of that number; he looked for a blessed eternity, as in verse 15. In Psalm xlix. he represents to us the folly and vanity of worldly men, and how different their condition and that of God's children will be, at and after death. Indeed we find him under a sore temptation in

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Psalm lxxiii. by reason of worldly men's prosperity, which made him ready to conclude, verse 13 (as those in Malachi iii., 14, did, and as many now do) that true piety was folly, and nowise advantageous; but when he was enlightened in God's sanctuary to look to their end, verse 17, he owns his ignorance and brutishness therein, and in the close of that psalm declares the blessedness of them that prefer God above all, and have interest in Him as their portion; and that it is good to draw nigh to Him. What will the profits and pleasures of the world avail us in a dying hour, when strength and heart and all will fail? Why then should we neglect God and ourselves for the world? The wise man tells us in Proverbs xi., 14, that riches profit not 'in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivereth from death;' and in the close of his book of Ecclesiastes, having read us a lecture on the vanity of all earthly things, he concludes that the whole duty of man, his chief and main business, is to serve God, and he adds as a reason, 'For God will bring every work to judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.' In Mark viii., 36, 37, our blessed Saviour saith, 'What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?' Surely then it is great folly to employ our time on the Lord's Day for the world, when it might be improved for the service of God, and the salvation of our souls.

"I heartily desire and pray for myself and others, as in Deuteronomy xxxii., 29. Oh! that God would make us wise, that we may understand this, that we would consider our latter end.

"*Objection II.*

"Some there are that many times abstain from attending on the preaching of the Word, and object against the

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preachers, in regard to the meanness of their gifts and abilities, and say they know as much as they can teach them, and can read a sermon at home to more advantage.

"*Answer.*—I shall not enlarge in reply to this objection, as not being proper to the purpose in hand, but only say that preaching is God's ordinance, as before evidenced; and the Ministers are but instruments in God's hands; the power is of God (II. Corinthians iv., 7), and the success or increase also (I. Corinthians iii., 6); and therefore we ought to have our eye to God, and not to man; and from experience I have chosen and resolved on the Lord's Day to prefer the preaching of the Word of God in the public assemblies, though by a Minister of the meanest gifts and parts, if he be godly and orthodox, before the reading of the most learned and elaborate sermon that ever was made, yea before the reading of the Scripture, and the sermons of Christ himself, and the Apostles—at home.

"As to other public duties on the Lord's Day, viz., joining with the Church and people of God in prayer, and celebrating the praises of God, and receiving the Sacrament (as also the private and family duties on that day, in order to preparation for, and improvement of the public worship) it is, as I conceive, very true, and might from Scripture be clearly proved, touching these duties, as well as the preaching of the Word,

"1.—That it is not our only duty but likewise our interest and great concern, to attend to them; they being enjoined and commanded as the worship and homage due from us to the Lord, our Creator, Redeemer, and Preserver; and also justified and appointed as the ordinary means, in the due exercise and improvement whereof we may enjoy communion with God, and receive and obtain from Him Divine communications of His Spirit, with all blessings

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we need either for our souls or bodies—both in relation to this present life and that which is to come—as also for the Church and people of God; and

"2ndly.—That the Lord's Day is the fittest and most proper season for the due and spiritual performance of the said duties. But having already enlarged beyond my first intentions, I forbear, and only add, That as I am a Master of a family, and have children and servants, I do believe that I am not only obliged, personally and with my family, to the worship of God on the Lord's Day as before intimated, but that there also lies on me a duty every day, both personally in private and publicly in my family, to worship the Lord, and call upon His Name.

"As we have our being from God, for He made us and not we ourselves (Psalm c., 3) and we are continually upheld and preserved by Him, for 'in Him we live and move, and have our being,' (Hebrews xvi., 28), so all good things that tend to our well being, whether for the body or the soul, for the present life or in order to a blessed eternity, come from Him; for it is He that gives us all things richly to enjoy (1. Timothy vi., 17); He gives food to all flesh (Psalm cxxxvi., 25); both riches and the enjoyment of them is God's gift (Ecclesiastes v., 19); all our labour and endeavours would be vain and fruitless without the Lord's blessing, &c.

"If all be from God, and of His great gift, then certainly God is to be sought unto, to bestow and to be praised for bestowing, blessings on us; prayer is the means without which we cannot expect to receive the blessings God hath promised, whether spiritual or temporal, for in Ezekiel xxxvi., God having made gracious promises of both, we read verse 37, 'thus saith the Lord God, I will yet for this be enquired of by the house of Israel to do it for them;' and praise and thanksgiving is the tribute we owe

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to God for all His blessings and favours. God made all things for Himself, for His own glory (Proverbs xvi., 4); of Him, and through Him, and to 'Him are all things, to Whom be glory for ever' (Romans xi., 36); and the Psalmist tells us (l., 23) 'Whoso offereth praise glorifieth' God. It would be endless to mention the many places in Scripture wherein this duty of prayer and praise is commanded and enjoined; and that not only on some special occasions, but as a daily and constant service. 'Pray without ceasing;' 'In everything give thanks, for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you' (I. Thessalonians v., 17, 18); 'In everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God' (Philippians iv., 6).

"We have also the practice of the Saints of God for our example; Daniel prayed three times a day, and it was his constant custom to do so, Daniel vi., 10; David saith, 'At evening and at morning and at noon will I pray' (Psalm lv., 17); and in Psalm cxix., 164, 'Seven times a day do I praise thee;' and in Psalm cxlv., 2, 'Every day will I bless thee, and praise Thy Name for ever and ever.'

"Many are the promises made to this duty, 'Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the Lord shall be saved' (Romans x., 13); and it is the character of wicked and unregenerate men, not to seek and call upon God (Psalm liii., 2, 4); and of hypocrites, that they are not constant, and will not persevere in the performance of this duty (Job xxvii., 10), whereas on the contrary it is a mark of a child of God, as in Acts ix., 11, where it is said as an evidence of Paul's conversion, 'Behold he prayeth.' The neglect of this duty is very displeasing to God, and that whereof He complains in Isaiah xliii., 21, 22, 'This people have I formed for Myself, they shall shew forth My praise; but thou hast not called upon Me, O Jacob; but thou hast

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been weary of Me, O Israel,' and in Hosea vii., 7, 'there is none of them that calleth upon Me.'

"From what has been said it is evident to me that this duty of prayer and thanksgiving to God is so indispensable, that whoever doth not personally and daily attend to it is as yet a stranger to God, and as yet in a state of sin and wrath; and without repentance and reformation will never obtain Salvation.

"This duty is not only personal, to be performed by every one in secret, but I am fully persuaded that a duty lies on me and on every Master of a family to worship God in his family, and to pray with them; for as we stand in need of, and daily receive, not only blessings peculiar to our own persons, but as we also stand related one to another, and are in a family community, so, certainly, we should own and acknowledge God in that community, by seeking Him, and praising Him for family blessings. We read in Ezekiel xliv., that God, as a motive or encouragement to obedience, proposeth family blessings, verse 30, 'that He may cause a blessing to rest in thine house.' In Jeremiah xxxi., 1, God saith, He will be 'the God of all the families of the house of Israel.' That God will not only be my God, but the God of my family is a great mercy, and deserves to be both desired and acknowledged. The blessings by and through Jesus Christ, are extended to families (Genesis xii., 3); 'In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.' In Proverbs iii., 33, it is said, 'The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked, but He blesseth the habitation of the just;' and ought we not in prayer to deprecate the curse, and beg the blessing? We find that the people of God have taken a special care of their families; Abraham circumcised all the males in his family as God required (Genesis xvii.,

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13, 23), and he is commended for the care of his family (Genesis xviii., 19), 'I know that Abraham will command his children and his household after him,' &c.; and we find Jacob going to worship God with his family, taking care of them, that they might be prepared (Genesis xxxv., 2, 3). Hence are those commands in Deuteronomy vi., 7 and xi., 19, to teach God's statutes to our children, and to talk to them when we sit in our houses, &c. We read in II. Samuel vi., 20, that after David had been worshipping God in public he returned to bless his household; and in Psalm ci. he tells us what care he would take of his family, and how to demean himself in that relation, verse 2, 'I will walk within my house with a perfect heart;' and there seems to me, from the connection of the last clause of the verse with the former part, to be an implication that a man cannot expect God to come to him in favour and in a way of blessing, without family, as well as, personal worship.

"When persons were converted to the faith, they took care of their families; hence we read that when Lydia was converted, she was baptized, and her household (Acts xvi., 15); and the Jailor (verse 33), he and all his were baptized; and Acts xviii., 8, Crispus believed in the Lord with all his house, and they were baptized. And in respect of the worship of God in families, I suppose it may be the reason (or at least one reason) of those expressions, 'the Church in such an one's house.' Romans xvi., 5, 10, 11. I. Corinthians xvi., 19. Colossians iv., 15. Philemon 2. And it is said of Cornelius (Acts x., 2) that he feared God with all his house, and prayed to God always, and (verse 30) that at the ninth hour he prayed in his house, so that it seems to have been a set time for his family worship. In Zechariah xii. there is a prophecy that when God should deliver and restore His Church, and destroy

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their enemies, a spirit of grace and supplication should be poured out upon every family, that they should repent and mourn apart; and as God extends mercy and grace to families, so God threatens judgments on families in Leviticus xx., 'I will set My face against that man and his family;' and in Deuteronomy xxix., 18-20, 'lest there should be among you man or woman, or family, or tribe, whose heart turneth this day from the Lord, and the Lord will not spare him,' &c.; and in Jeremiah x., there is a terrible imprecation on the families that call not upon God;—'Pour out Thy wrath upon the heathen that know Thee not, and upon the families that call not on Thy Name.'

"Here I might further observe the practice of the serious and truly pious persons in all times, who have made conscience of family duties, and I never read or heard of any amongst Christians (who were not atheistical or wickedly profane) that did not in their judgment approve, and in their speech acknowledge, that the reading God's Word, and prayer, in families was religious and commendable. The author of 'The whole duty of Man,' saith 'Let no man that professes himself a Christian keep so heathenish a family as not to see that God be worshipped in it.'

"Well then, if we would obtain the blessing of God on our families, and avoid His wrath and displeasure, surely it is our duty and concern to take care of our family, and to set up the worship of God there; and therefore I desire to resolve with Joshua, whatever others make their choice and practice, yet 'as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord,' Joshua xxiv., 15.

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"SIR,—I crave your pardon for giving you the trouble to read so long an Epistle, wherein yet I have said very little in comparison of what might be said on this subject; and indeed I must confess, as at the beginning, my own inability for such a work, which had been more proper for some able Divine; but your desire of me, and my sincere and cordial affection for you, hath engaged me thus far; and I make it my earnest request to you that you will excuse and pass by all my failings and weaknesses herein, and seriously consider and weigh the whole matter, as that which is, and will appear of great import when we shall come to stand before the Judgment Seat of Christ: And the God of all Grace grant," &c. "Colossians i., 9, 10. Hebrews xii., 21.

"I rest, your most affectionate and truly Christian Friend,

"THO. PAPILLON.

"$\frac{20\text{th February}}{2\text{nd March}}, \frac{1685}{86}$."

The strength of Thomas Papillon's convictions, as set forth in the foregoing treatise, can scarcely be doubted; but as two records exist in proof of it, the Editor is glad to be able to hand them down:

The first consists in the following memorandum which appears in his own handwriting on the title page of a 4to M.S. book, bound in parchment, in which he recorded his family relationships from his Grandfather and Grandmother down to his yougest Grandchild; and it may be mentioned that the period of which he speaks embraced his seventieth year:—

> "The whole Old Testament was read over beginning y^e^ 17 June, 1692, and ending the 26 August, 1694, being 2 years, 2 months, 9 days—which makes 795 days.
>
> "There is in the Old Testament, besides y^e^ Psalms, 779 Chapters, the 16 days difference comes by reading other Scripture sometimes, on Sacrament days, and on special occasions.

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"The New Testament contains 260 Chapters; soe the New Testament will be read over, if God vouchsafes life and health, from the 26 August, exclusive, to the 13 May, 1695, inclusive.

"So the whole Scriptures (Spsalmes excepted) containing 1039 Chapters, at one Chapter each day, will be read over in 2 years, 10 months, and 4 or 5 days."

From the elimination of the Psalms in this calculation, and from one chapter a day in the reckoning, it is concluded that Thomas Papillon invariably read a portion of the former at either Morning or Evening Family Worship.

As regards Thomas Papillon's personal observance of the Lord's Day, the following letter, written when he was one of his Majesty's Commissioners for Victualling the Navy, will abundantly testify:—

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"Last night late, your Honour's of the 9th inst. came to the Victualling Office, signifying his Majesty's pleasure that the Commissioners should attend him at your Office on Sunday next at four of the clock, concerning the Instructions about paying in Course.

"As to myself, as I make conscience of serving the King faithfully, so I desire conscientiously to observe the Lord's Day, in the exercise of Religious duties, both public, private, and with my Family, and believe that unless it be in any case of necessity, I am bound by the Word of God so to do; and I cannot conceive the case in question to be such, and therefore entreat your Honour to make my humble excuse to his Majesty, and to beg his gracious pardon for my non-attendance.

"As to the matter of payments in course, the substance of what can be said hath been put into writing, to which I refer; and humbly lay myself at his Majesty's feet, and with all submission

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attend his pleasure. I shall always be heartily ready to serve his Majesty, but under the present circumstances such an injunction will render me incapable to do it in the Victualling Office.

"I am, Right Honourable,

"Your Honour's most humble and obedient Servant,

"THO. PAPILLON.

"10th November, 1693.

"To the Right Honourable Sir John Trenchard,
Principal Secretary of State."

So far from the course thus adopted by Papillon involving his loss of office, he not only remained in it a trusted servant, but on his desire during some years for release, on account of his age and infirmities, &c., he had much difficulty in obtaining it from those in authority, as will subsequently appear.

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ADDRESS TO HIS CHILDREN.

Some may deem Papillon's principles regarding Sabbath Observance to have arisen from Puritanical strictness, and formality; but such judgment must be dispelled on discovering the soundness of his views on Christian faith and love, as set forth in the following *Address to his Children*, prepared about half a year later :—

"Utrecht. Thursday the $\frac{12}{22}$th August, 1686.

"This day all my Children being with me, I spake to them something to the import of this paper, and prayed with them.

"My dear Children, God hath vouchsafed us the comfort to see the faces of one another, and now we are to part in a few days, and we know not whether we may ever meet again in this world, and therefore I have desired to say something to you.

"Death is the lot of all. It is appointed for all men once to die. In the chapters we have read of the Patriarchs before the Flood, it is said, they lived and died.

"'After death comes Judgment'—Romans xiv., 12. 'Every man must give an account of himself to God' —II. Corinthians v., 10. 'We must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ,' &c.

"This Judgment whether the first, immediately on death, or the last at the last general Resurrection, determines all men to an eternal state of Misery or Blessedness.

"This we all profess to believe, but yet for the most part we are not actually under the influence of this belief, so as to be preparing for Death and Eternity, and to make

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sure of a blessed state hereafter. Nor are we so inquisitous and solicitous about the last Judgment, as to examine our case beforehand, that then we may stand in judgment and be accepted of the Lord, &c.

"All men, by nature, as they come into the world, are in a state of Sin and Wrath. We have a description of man in his natural state in Psalms xiv. and liii., which the Apostle allegeth in Romans iii., 9, 10, to prove all, both Jews and Gentiles, to be under sin; and in Ephesians i., 1-3, we are said to be 'dead in trespasses and sins,' and to be by nature 'children of wrath.' This is our condition from Adam by natural generation.

"Salvation and Recovery is only by Jesus Christ, Acts iv. 12. 'Neither is there salvation by any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.'

"As being in Adam the common stock, and from him by a natural generation—we derive sin and condemnation, —so being in Christ by faith, we derive from Him spiritual regeneration and salvation, as the Apostle shews in Romans v.

"Faith is that Grace which unites us to Christ; it is the hand that receives and embraces him; and therefore in answer to that question in Acts xvi., 30, 31, 'What must I do to be saved?' it is said, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ,' and in John iii., 36, 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life,' and in I. John v., 12, 'He that hath the Son hath life,' and Acts x., 43, 'To him give all the prophets witness, that whosoever believeth in Him shall receive remission of sins,' and in Colossians i., 14, 'In whom we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins.'

"This faith is called a receiving of Christ, John i., 12; a leaning on Christ, Canticles viii., 5; a believing in

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Christ, John iii., 15, 16, John xi., 25, 26; a having Him, I. John v., 12; a coming to Him, John v., 40.

"Faith is a receiving and embracing Christ, as tendered in the Gospel, for Lord and Saviour—so as to have Him, and be united to Him: It is the soul fixing upon Christ for life and salvation, for grace and glory; He having purchased both, and having power to bestow both, Acts v., 31, 'Him hath God exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins; and John v., 21, 'As the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will;' and John xvii., 2, 'As Thou hast given Him power over all flesh, that He should give eternal life to as many as Thou hast given Him.' John vi., 33, 'For the bread of God is He which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.' John x., 10, 'I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly,' and verse 28, 'I give unto them eternal life,' and John xx., 31, 'These things are written that you might believe, and that believing you might have life through His Name.'

"Some cry down the doctrine of Faith, and scandalize those that teach it, as if it were contrary to good works and holiness; but this is from a mistake—for that Faith which is required is a receiving Christ as Lord and Saviour; not only to save, but to rule in us and over us—the soul fixing on Christ for salvation and acceptance with God, and for holiness and conformity to God, as having purchased heaven and salvation, and also grace, spiritual life, and a new nature for us. I. John iv., 9, 'God sent His Son into the world, that we might live through Him.'

"To preach good works without Christ, is to begin at

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the wrong end: Our Saviour saith, Matthew vii., 18, 'A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit;' the tree must first be made good; we must be taken out of the corrupt stock, and be ingrafted into Christ by faith before we can do any good work. John xv., 5, 'Without me ye can do nothing.'

"Parents derive Corruption to their Children; this should be a matter of humiliation to us, and should engage us to earnest endeavours for their change and conversion; the Apostle in Galatians iv., 19, saith, he travaileth in birth till Christ was formed in them; much more should natural parents labour, and use all means, that their children may be regenerated and become the children of God.

"I have great cause for thankfulness and praise to God, for the good work which I hope He hath begun in you.

"That which I would recommend to you, is the exercise of faith, love, and joy in the Lord, which is spoken of in I. Peter i. God's providence hath cast our lot in such times as are there intimated; we are scattered one from another, and may expect further trials and sufferings. It is my desire and prayer that we (as the Apostle saith those Christians were) may be receiving the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls. They had not received full and complete salvation, that is reserved for the state above, the state of glory; they had not all, not the full, but some beginnings, some earnest, some foretastes, and were still receiving more; and even under, in, and by their trials and sufferings, through the exercise of these graces, they did advance further towards perfection. For what is the end of our faith—the salvation we hope for—but a full deliverance from Sin, perfection of Grace, and full enjoyment of God? This they were gradually

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receiving; Sin, every day, and by every trial, more wrought out; Grace more increased and purified, that it might be found to praise and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ; and hence through the exercise of Faith and Love they were enabled to rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory, as having their hearts more and more drawn out after God, and experiencing in their own souls more communion with Him: Let me therefore press this on myself, and on you, my dear Children, if I should never see you again, or speak to you more, in this world, That you live in the exercise of these Graces—Faith, Love, and Joy in the Lord.

"1st.—Maintain the life of Faith, and live constantly in the exercise of it.

"Faith hath Jesus Christ for its object, as given of God—as held out in the Promise, in the Covenant; and which is in all His offices, in His merits, in His Grace: That faith which is true lays hold on Christ as tendered; a whole Christ, as Lord and Saviour, as having purchased all for us, and the application thereof to us.

"Justification and Sanctification are inseparable; he that believes on Christ aright, embraceth Christ for both—what God hath joined, must not be separated.

"Yet in regard of the weakness of our understandings, we must distinguish things, in order to take a right notion of them; we cannot by one act of our understanding see all at once: Therefore we may consider *Faith*:—

"1st.—As it unites to Christ, and embraceth Him for Justification and Salvation, viz: as given and appointed by the Father, John iii., 16. As having made satisfaction to divine Justice for our Sins, Isaiah liii., 5, 1. Corinthians xv., 3, Romans v., 11-16, Hebrews x., 14. As having wrought perfect righteousness in fulfilling the law of God, His whole will—in our stead, as our Surety (Isaiah xlv.,

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24, Daniel ix., 24, Romans v., 18, x. 4, I. Corinthians i., 30, II. Corinthians v., 21, Hebrews vii., 22); whereby we came to be reconciled to God (II. Corinthians v., 18, Colossians i., 21); to have our sins pardoned (Colossians i., 14, Acts xiii., 38, 39); to be accepted of God, taken into favour, made sons, and entitled to the inheritance—to have a right to heaven and eternal blessedness (Matthew iii., 17, Ephesians i., 6-11, Galatians iv., 7, John i., 12, I. John iii., 1, 2, Romans viii., 17, Acts xxvi., 18, Colossians iii., 24, Hebrews ix., 15). This comes purely from what Christ hath done without us, is purely free, of mere Grace—the righteousness of God made our's. Hence it is said, Isaiah liv., 17, 'Their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord.' (Also Psalm xxiv., 5, Isaiah xlv., 24, Jeremiah xxiii., 6, Ephesians i., 7).

"St. Paul laid the whole stress, counted all else to be loss and dung, to be found in Christ, Philip. iii., 9, not having his own righteousness, but the righteousness of God by faith; hence in Galatians iv., 5, 6, it is said, Christ came to redeem us, 'that we might receive the adoption of sons, and because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts.' They were sons, elected, chosen, and adopted in Christ, and redeemed by Christ, and received the Spirit as a consequent of that; so in Romans v., 8, 'God commendeth His love to us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us;' so that all is of free and rich grace, without any desire or desert of our's; all purchased and accomplished by Jesus Christ, without us.

"This must be laid as a foundation, and maintained; for the evidence of our Justification ariseth from the work in the heart, and a suitable conversation—conformity to God, and communion with God in heart and life—the Spirit bearing witness with our spirits, raising joy and

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rejoicing in the soul. Yet the foundation of all, as before mentioned, is what Christ hath done without us, whereof the Sanctification of our hearts, &c., is the evidence; and it may so fall out, that a child of God, through remaining corruption, the power of temptation, and the darkness of his own spirit—may be in that condition spoken of in Isaiah l., 11, to '*see no light.*' May be, all the soul may be able to say, 'I am vile, undone, deserve damnation; there is Salvation in Christ, God tenders Him in the Gospel, there is no other name whereby I can be saved; God commands me to believe; I cannot find that work of repentance, mortification, &c., that God requires: Yet there will I bottom and cast myself, *on what Christ hath done and purchased.*'

"Oh, my dear Children, keep fast hold of Christ; beware of a Popish spirit, to think of any worthiness in yourselves or duty, to render you accepted with God. Remember what one of you once said when young, after some days' working of mind—how you were sure you should go to heaven—crying out one morning to your maid, 'I have found it; now I am sure He hath said, 'I will be your God, and ye shall be my people.' Oh, forget not this working of God's Spirit in your hearts so early. God's Covenant in Christ is the foundation to build upon!

"It is impossible a Sinner can satisfy for Sin; it being committed against an infinite God, a finite creature cannot make atonement. If we could (which is impossible in our fallen state) fulfil the whole Law, yet we could not satisfy for what is past. All is duty; and when we have done all, we are unprofitable servants, Luke xvii., 10; and the best of us fall short of our duty, and in our duties; we have need to say with the Psalmist, 'Who can understand his errors? cleanse Thou me from secret faults' (Psalm xix., 12), and as in Psalm cxxx., 3, 'But

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there is forgiveness with Thee, that Thou mayest be feared.' Oh, beware of pride and self-advancing, thinking to merit at God's hands; this was the stumbling block at which the Jews fell, Romans x., 3, &c.

"2ndly.—Faith, as it unites us to Christ, and thereby interesteth us in His satisfaction and righteousness, whereby God becomes reconciled to us, and we entitled to heaven: So also from this union we partake of communion with Christ, and are brought into conformity to Him; hence it said, 'He that is joined to the Lord is one Spirit,' I. Corinthians vi., 17; and 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His,' Romans viii., 9; 'He that is in Christ is a new creature,' II. Corinthians v., 17; 'As He is, so are we in this world,' I. John iv., 17; 'This is that meat which came down from heaven, which endureth to everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you; for Him hath God the Father sealed,' John vi., 27-51; and God is said to have sent His only begotten Son into the world, that we may live through Him.

"Jesus Christ—as He hath purchased for us a right to heaven, and the adoption of Children—so He is the head, the second Adam—from whom all grace and spiritual life is derived. This is the merit of Christ's death; and here is the virtue and efficacy of it, and of His resurrection (John i., 16, Romans vi., 4 to 6, 8, 11, Galatians ii., 20, vi., 14, Philippians iii., 10, II. Timothy ii., 11, I. Peter i., 3, ii., 24.)

"We are engrafted into Christ and must derive influence from Christ, as the branch from the Vine; for without Him we can do nothing, John xv., 5; our life depends on Christ, 'Because I live, ye shall live also,' John xiv., 19; and in John vi., 57, 'As the living Father hath sent

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Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me.'

"Therefore faith must be kept up in a constant and daily exercise, to derive life and influence from Christ, to the performance of every duty, to the mortification of sin, to the resisting and overcoming temptations, to the perfecting holiness, and to serving God spiritually.

"All our outward profession of religion, and outward performance of duties, will be nothing without this, if they are not done by virtue of a principle of life derived from Christ, and by strength and influence communicated from Him. This is that life the Apostle would live, Galatians ii., 20, 'I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me, and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me;' and in Philippians i., 21, he professeth that to him to live was Christ.

"This life and exercise of faith we should labour to maintain; do we pray, read, meditate, &c.? Oh, fetch life from Christ, to do all; else they will be but dead works, and will not be found 'perfect before God.' We may have a name to live, and be dead, as it was with the Church of Sardis, Revelation iii., 1, 2.

"Oh, my dear Children, I speak to you and to myself. We must not content ourselves to do duties by the power only of natural abilities or by an outward form, nor to live justly and unblameably in the world from only rational considerations. We are exceedingly prone to a formal and carnal spirit. Let us strive against it, and labour to live this life of faith, constantly applying to Jesus Christ to get life, grace, and strength from Him to walk with God in our whole course; and we have great encourgement

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herein from the Scriptures before mentioned; and the Apostle tells us in Romans v., 10, that 'if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life;' and in Hebrews ix., 14, 'The blood of Christ purgeth the conscience from dead works to serve the living God.'

"None can come to heaven but they that are sanctified; nothing that defileth shall enter into the New Jerusalem, Revelation xxi., 27; 'Blessed are they that do His commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the City; for without are dogs,' &c., Revelation xxii., 14, 15; 'Be not deceived, neither idolators, nor adulterers,' &c., 'shall inherit the kingdom of God,' I. Corinthians vi., 9, 10. It is only the pure in heart that shall see God, Matthew v., 8; 'Without holiness none shall see God,' Hebrews xii., 14.

"What Christ hath done for us, without us, entitles us to blessedness; what Christ communicates to us, and works in us, capacitates and fits us for that blessedness; we must be made meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in light, Colossians i., 12; and it is said in II. Corinthians v., 5, that those who after death shall partake of a blessed life, are wrought for the same by God.

"God is a righteous God; He justifies the ungodly of free grace through faith in Jesus Christ, Romans iv., 5; but He also makes them godly, regenerates them, sanctifies them, conforms them to the image of His Son, as is expressed in Romans viii., 29, 30; and therefore methinks that Scripture in Romans i., 17, where it is said that in the Gospel the righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith, as it is written, 'The just shall live by

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faith'—may be understood, not only as the general scope of interpreters carry it to mean—the righteousness of Christ whereby we are justified through faith, and from faith to faith, the degrees of that grace, but may be also understood of the righteousness of God's dispensation in the Gospel, for the salvation of sinners; and so from faith to faith, imports faith to justification, and faith to sanctification, faith of union, and faith of communion, for God saves none but holy and righteous ones; though He found them not so, yet He makes them so; renews them, and sanctifies them, Titus iii., 3 to 7 and ii., 11 to the end.

"Therefore, as you look for happiness hereafter, labour to be holy and righteous persons; and that you may be such, live in the exercise of faith on Christ; fetch influence from Him; He is our life, Colossians iii., 3, 4. 'For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall you also appear with Him in glory.'

This is the first thing I recommend to you,
To maintain the life of Faith, and to live
Daily in the exercise of it; this is the
Fundamental Grace, because it is that which
Unites to Christ, Who is the only foundation.

I. Corinthians iii., 11.

"2ndly.—As faith is the foundation, in regard that it unites us to Christ, makes what Christ hath done our's, and derives life and grace from Him to conform us to His image; so this faith, assuring us of the love of God, and the love of Christ, draws out our souls in love to God, and thereby makes us active and vigorous in all the duty and work that God requireth of us; and therefore it is said in Galatians v., 6, that 'neither circumcision

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availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love.'

"Love is an assimilating grace; it changes us into the similitude and likeness of the object beloved, I. John iv., 10-16, 'Herein is love,' &c., 'and we have known and believed the love that God hath to us; God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him;' 'Love is the fulfilling of the Law,' Romans xiii., 10, the sum of the Commandments, Matthew xxii., 40; without this grace, all gifts and performances are nothing worth, as is plainly shewn in I. Corinthians xiii; it is Love that makes all duties easy, I. John v., 3. 'For this is the love of God, that we keep His commandments, and His commandments are not grievous.'

"Therefore be persuaded,

"To keep this grace in daily exercise; get your hearts more warmed with the sense of God's love towards you; be frequent in the meditation of the love of God, and of Christ. This was much on Paul's mind, Galatians ii., 20, 'Who loved me, and gave Himself for me.' Remember what David saith in Psalm xxvi., 3, upon which I did lately enlarge in a letter to one of you. How came he to walk so sincerely and constantly in the way of truth? Why, he had the lovingkindness of the Lord still before his eyes. Whatever the providences and dispensations of God may be towards you, maintain that conclusion in Psalm lxxiii., 1, 'Truly God is good to Israel. Who can be in a more afflicted state than that mentioned in Psalm xxii., 1, 2, whether it is meant of David literally, or a prophecy of Christ—God seeming to forsake—far from helping—deaf to prayers that were fervent, constant, and in faith, 'My God,' 'My roaring,' 'I cry in the day and in the night season,' but in verse 3 this is concluded, 'But Thou art holy, oh thou that inhabitest the praises of

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Israel.' Still keep up good thoughts of God, and believe that there is love at the bottom of every dispensation, however grievous and bitter it may seem to flesh and blood. Whom He loves, He loves, to the end John xiii., 1. Nothing can separate from the love of God, Romans viii., 35, 39. The bitterest cup you can meet with, it is a fruit of love, if you belong to God. Consider that in 1. Peter i., 7, 8, 9, they had great trials; but it was that their graces might be found to praise at the appearing of Jesus Christ; and therefore they found cause of rejoicing, because in the exercise of this grace of love with others, they were still on the receiving hand—receiving Salvation.

"This love to God, in the exercise of it, will carry you out to the love of the Church, and of the people of God —and particularly to the love of one another—as the Apostle John shews at large in his 1st Epistle, which I recommend to your study and meditation; and I hope I may say to you as the Apostle said to the Thessalonians, 1. Thessalonians iv., 9, 'But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another;' yet as he saith in the following verse, 'I beseech you,' my dear Children, 'that ye do it more and more,' and lay aside whatever may hinder or obstruct, either in words or actions.

"That which is contrary to the love of God, and the love of one another, is the love of the world, pleasure, profit, honour, to have our wills, to please our fancies, to shew our wit in jests, and sometimes abusive ones, to get advantage by injury and wrong, to advance our own esteem and repute, to vilify, disparage, detract from, envy, and malign others. This is the Apostle's exhortation, 1. John ii., 15, 'Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world; if any man love the world, the

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love of the Father is not in him;' and in the next verse he tells us what he means by the world, viz., the pleasures, profits, and honours of the world; and in 1. John v. 4., he acquaints us how we may overcome, and get the victory, even by faith, which gives us a sight of better things: All these things perish and fade away. What will it avail to be rich, great, esteemed of all men, and enjoying pleasures, &c., when death comes? Oh then all these things will be as nothing.

"3rdly.—From the exercise of Faith in Love will follow Holy Joy, a duty often commanded and commended in Scripture. Psalm xxxiii., 1, 'Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous.' 1. Thessalonians v., 16, 'Rejoice evermore.' Philippians iii., 1, iv., 4, 'Rejoice in the Lord alway, and again I say, rejoice.' Let the joy of the Lord be your strength, as it is said in Nehemiah viii., 10.

"Do not give way to dejections and sinkings of spirit, whatever may befall you, or come to pass in the world; read Psalm xlvi. 'God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble; therefore though the earth be removed, we will not fear,' &c. 'There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God,' &c. What's that? The dispensations of God in His ordinances, wherein His love in Christ is manifested to the soul—His blessed Word, and the promises of the Covenant of Grace, for our support; and in regard of afflictions and troubles in the world, we have many comforts set forth in the Word of God, and frequent commands not to fear. God, Who is our Father, orders all; He loves us, and in all His dealings towards us, designs good to us, Romans viii., 28. He hath given us a command to cast our burdens upon Him, and hath promised to sustain us, Psalm lv., 22; to commit our ways to Him; to trust,

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and rest in Him, and patiently to wait for Him, Psalm xxxiii., at the beginning; to 'be careful for nothing,' Philippians iv., 6; and be content with such things as we have; for He saith, 'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee,' &c., Hebrews xiii., 5, 6. He hath bid us to seek first the kingdom of God, and promised that all things necessary for us in this world shall be added to us; read Matthew vi. from verse 24 to the end; in verse 32 it says, 'After all these things do the Gentiles seek; and your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.' What! You have a Father in heaven, Who knows what you have need of—and will you be so solicitous, and anxiously thoughtful, as Gentiles that know not God, and are without God in the world? This is very unsuitable and very unbecoming.

"Labour therefore to comfort yourselves in God, as the Psalmist in Psalm xciv., 19, 'In the multitude of my thoughts within me, Thy comforts delight my soul.'

I might have mentioned the exercise of daily repentance, constant watchfulness over your hearts and ways, frequent prayer, &c.; but I thought to recommend the exercise of the three above-mentioned Graces, as not having time to enlarge, and because faith in the exercise, working by love, will engage you to all other duties; and then that duty of Joy in the Lord is a duty that Christians in such days are not so ready to practise, but too often give way to fears, dejections, and overwhelmings of spirit, which they ought to beware of and resist.

"Finally, my dear Children, 'Farewell, be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you,' II. Corinthians xiii., 11.

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"I know not whether I may pray as the Apostle in reference to the Thessalonians, I. Thessalonians iii., 11. If the Lord sees good, He will give us to see one another's faces again in our own country. His holy will be done. But I desire to pray for you all in the following verses, 'That the Lord would make you to increase and abound in love, one towards another, and towards all men, even as we do towards you, to the end He may stablish your hearts unblamable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all His Saints,' and as in I. Thessalonians v., 23, 'That the very God of peace would sanctify you wholly, and that your whole spirits, souls, and bodies may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.' 'Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work, to do His will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His sight through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever Amen.' Hebrews xiii., 20, 21.

"This is the sum and substance of what I then spake to my dear Children, which I have collected, and put in writing for their better remembrance. On some particulars, I did more enlarge than is here expressed—as God put it into my mind—which I cannot exactly set down in the words I then spake. Their meditations will enlarge on the heads which I have here inserted from the short notes I made use of at the time; and I have added some quotations of Scripture which I did not then mention—to illustrate and enforce the truth—which I recommend them carefully to peruse; and the good Lord make the same, and every word of His Grace, effectual for good to them and me. Amen.

"Utrecht, this 7th December, 1686 (st. vet.)"

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CONFESSION OF SINS BY THOMAS PAPILLON.

"The 6th September, 1688.

"This day twelvemonth the Lord put it into my heart to set myself apart, to consider my past life, and to seek the Lord with my whole heart. It is now a year since, and the Lord hath preserved me and my family, and I am now entered upon the sixty-sixth year of my age; and I desire to review over my past life, and in particular the past year, to mourn before the Lord for my sins and past failings, to repent and seek reconciliation with God through my blessed Redeemer, and to give praise to the Lord for all His goodness and mercy wherewith He hath been pleased to follow me all my days, and to renew my covenant with God, engaging through the Grace of Christ to walk more closely with the Lord in all well pleasing.

"The Scriptures read this morning were the first of Haggai (and Psalm cxxvi.,) in which there is an injunction, twice repeated, 'Consider your ways.' Seeking the advancing our own houses, with a careless neglect of God's house, is displeasing to God, and brings a curse on our labours. It is the Lord who must stir up our hearts to His work; otherwise, the prophet's speaking, and our considering will not have effect. 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.' 'He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.' Oh Lord, enable me to consider my ways, stir up my heart, give me a mourning and a broken frame under a sense of sin and barrenness in Grace, and enable me so to seek Thee that I may have joy, and become more fruitful by Jesus Christ.

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"Last year, I began with the consideration that all our duties and services bring no advantage to God;' 'My goodness extendeth not to thee,' saith David, Psalm xvi., 2; and Job xxii., 2, 3, 'Can a man be profitable unto God, as he that is wise is profitable to himself? Is it any pleasure to the Almighty that thou art righteous, or is it gain to Him that thou makest thy way perfect?' * and the wise man saith, Proverbs ix., 12, 'If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself.'

"This I desire to get established in my heart—for there is a cursed proneness to put more on our duties, and ascribe more to ourselves than we ought—I find it a very hard and difficult thing, when the heart is enlarged in duty, to maintain a humble and self-abasing frame, without some risings and liftings-up of heart, as if we should be accepted of God; and on the other hand, when there is dulness and deadness cleaving to us, and the heart is under depression, then to keep up faith in exercise, and not—through unbelief—to despond, and question our acceptance—is likewise exceeding difficult. Though I am fully convinced in my judgment that Christ is all in all, that it is only through Him that I come to be accepted, Ephesians i., 6, and that I am an unclean thing, and all my righteousness but filthy rags, &c., Isaiah lxiv., 6, and 'to be accounted but loss and dung,' Philippians iii., 7, 8. yet I find secret risings of spirit, and secret despondings, according as my actings in duty are more or less raised and spiritual. I confess it should be matter of mourning when I am straitened in duty, and do not with a full desire of heart follow hard after God; for surely it is because of some sin or miscarriage, some grieving or quenching the motions of the Spirit that He withdraws;

* N.B.—These views came from Job's quàsi friend, and enemy, Eliphaz.—*Ed.*

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and when I find it so, I would examine myself, and repent and grieve for my sins: and on the other hand, it should be, and I desire to make it, a matter of praise and thanksgiving to God, when by His Spirit He quickens and enlarges my heart to, and in, duty.

"But to have this cursed self to creep in, and jostle (as it were) Christ out of the throne, as if my acceptance were from my own works and duties, and not only from Him, his full satisfaction, perfect righteousness, and prevailing intercession, I desire to look upon it as very sinful, and including pride, self love, unbelief, great ingratitude, and in a manner all sin, so that it cannot but be very displeasing and provoking to the Lord: And that I find this still working in me, and that it so easily and so often besets me, and is so hard and difficult to overcome, is an undeniable evidence of that cursed and corrupt nature that in some measure still remains in me. When I have confessed, bewailed, mourned before God under a sense of it, and for some time got above it, yet it will be still returning, moving and working. The Lord pardon me the motions and risings of this—for that is sin even when there hath been no consenting, and too often it hath prevailed.—Oh Lord, subdue it; give me victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. On Him alone I desire to bottom all my hopes for acceptance with God and obtaining eternal life.

"All the assistance we have from the Spirit of God, all our ability to duty, enlargements of duty and performance of duty, can be no cause of our acceptance, Galatians iv., 6, 'Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' Whence it is evident that we are not accepted because of our prayers and duties, or enlargements therein, but we have the Spirit to enlarge our hearts in duties and the service

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of God, because we are accepted, and made sons in Christ. So there is matter of praise and thanksgiving for the Spirit's quickening and enlarging our hearts, but none for self-advancing, or confidence in ourselves or duties, because all is free Grace in Christ, and nothing of ourselves.

"In reference to Sin,

"When I look back, and review my past life in all the several stages of it, oh, what an innumerable multitude of sins have I been guilty of before the Lord, so that I may say, as in Psalm xl., 'they are more than the hairs of my head,' and in Psalm xxxviii., 4, 'Mine iniquities are gone over my head, as an heavy burden they are too heavy for me,' and Psalm xix., 12, 'Who can understand his errors?' Alas, where shall I begin, and where can I make an end? Sin came into the world with me, cleaves to me, is rooted in my nature, is and hath been exceedingly active in all the several ages and conditions of my life, in all times and places, and under all circumstances where Providence hath cast my lot.

"The multitude of childish follies, I cannot remember; but the sins of that age, pride, stubbornness, disobedience to parents, not improving instruction and correction as I ought, and many others, though I cannot remember, yet they were great sins, flowing from the cursed fountain of sin in my nature; and if not washed away by the blood of Christ, remain in the Register of Conscience, and of Divine knowledge, and will appear to condemnation.

"The sins and vanities of youth, oh, how numberless are they, both in omissions of duty, and commissions of evil, mis-spending of time, ensnarements of evil company; and though God hath been very gracious to me, to keep me that I was not carried away to destruction of body and soul by those ways of sin, evil examples and

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seducements, for which I desire to bless His Name, yet I have great cause to cry out with the Psalmist, Psalm xxv., 7, 'Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my transgressions; according to Thy mercy remember Thou me for good, O Lord.' I call to mind that once at Lubenham House my brother and I entertained young Mr. Cooper, and with wine we had sent from London made him drunk, and we took pleasure in it. The Lord hath made me sensible of this sin, and often to reflect upon it with brokenness of heart, in that, by His righteous judgment, my son was made drunk by one Mr. N——— and Mr. J———. I hope the Lord hath forgiven me, and my son also; and I pray the Lord to forgive them; and I write this, and mention it with tears; oh, let all and every one take warning of sin, and particularly of drawing others into sin, lest the Lord, in just judgment, suffer it to be retaliated in kind on them or theirs, and they be brought to say as I do, Judges i., 7, 'As I have done, so the Lord hath requited me; righteous art Thou, O Lord, and upright are Thy judgments.' We may forget our sins, but God will not forget them, unless we repent, and by faith apply to God in Christ for pardon, which I desire to do for all my sins.

"The sins of my life since I have come to years of understanding, oh how innumerable have they been. When I examine myself, and compare my life with the holy Word of God, the first and second table, how wanting in my duty to God, and how short in my duty towards my neighbour; as also in reference to the blessed Gospel.

"In religious duties and concerns,

"A general looseness of spirit, as if I were acting apart, too frequently comes upon me, so that there are not always heart impressions of the majesty and authority

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of God, of the fear and love of God, engaging the soul in every act of duty and worship, as there ought to be.

"A neglect of serious preparation for duty.

"A dead and wandering frame in duty; want of spiritual life.

"Not duly observing the frame of my heart in duty, and not considering and examining myself, and what returns from God, but letting matters go on in a careless and slight manner, as if they were not matters of great moment. The duty of self examination I find my heart exceedingly backward to.

"Much of hypocrisy creeps in oftentimes, when there is more care to approve myself before men than to please God. Self love, and self-praise are apt to steal on me; whereas God alone should be the ultimate end of all duties.

"Sometimes a proneness to rest in the outward work.

"Unprofitableness and unfaithfulness under the ordinances of the Gospel; not duly prizing them; not truly thankful for them.

"Unstableness in my course and frame, nothwithstanding my experiences and covenant engagements.

"Not living the life of faith by a daily exercise of faith, deriving influence from the Lord Jesus Christ, as I have often covenanted to do on receiving the Sacrament.

"In the outward conversation, in my calling, family, and relations, public and private.

"Sometimes too eager pursuit of the affairs of this life, and too much solicitousness about them; envying at others' successes, and discontented at my own, though I bless God this hath not prevailed, yet sometimes these corrupt motions have been rising, and have shewn themselves in passions of anger and unsuitable expressions.

"In public concerns, I bless the Lord I have generally

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had a sincere desire to act according to the best of my understanding, for the good and welfare of the Society, City, Country, and State, without respect to any private interest; yet I confess corruption hath many times been rising and stirring, to the lifting up myself in pride, and applause of men; something of self would be ever now and then working, and acting, in me.

"So also in my family, and the duties thereof;

"And as to others, and the concerns of the Church of God,

"I have not been so humbled for the dishonour done to God by others' sins; have wanted much of the Spirit of David, who said, 'I beheld the transgressors and was grieved, because men kept not Thy law.' On this account, surely I have contracted much guilt by others' sins; nay, sometimes secret risings of content that others have fallen into sin and disgrace, apprehending that would render me more esteemed. I have not so grieved and mourned for the sufferings of others, especially of the Church and people of God, nor so applied to God in prayer for them, as I ought.

"All these sins, and innumerable more which I cannot reckon, have I been guilty of, both in omissions and commissions, and have not had such a soft and tender heart to mourn for them and bewail them before the Lord as I ought, to get my heart affected with the evil of sin after a Godly sort.

"Lord, I am guilty of great impenitency and hardness of heart. The good Lord pardon me, and give me a broken, contrite, and penitent frame. Our Lord Jesus Christ was exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance; Lord, give it me; I humbly beg it.

"I have been guilty of great unthankfulness for sparing

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mercies, preventing mercies, and restraining and renewing Grace.

"My sins are exceeding aggravated, and out of measure sinful, because I have had such knowledge and instruction, such experience and tastes of the goodness and sweetness of God's ways, such workings of God's Spirit, and checks of conscience, and yet have sinned after confessions, resolutions, and renewed covenant engagements. O Lord, my sins are exceedingly great and very heinous, but Thy mercy is infinite; Christ's satisfaction, merit, and righteousness are pleasing to Thee, and Thou hast declared that Thou art willing to be reconciled. With Thee, there is forgiveness, therefore, O Lord, I come to Thee. 'Out of the depths will I cry unto Thee,' Psalm cxxx.

"As my sins during these sixty-five years of my life have been numberless, so have been the mercies of God.

"To be born of religious parents, in the days of the Gospel, in such a place where the Truth shone in its lustre and purity, and where anti-Christ had no power.

"To be in my infancy tendered to the Lord, and received into the visible Church by Baptism, educated, instructed, and brought up in the knowledge of God, and of His truth and holy ways.

"After the vanity of childhood and youth, wherein God graciously and wonderfully preserved me, that I was not wholly carried away to looseness and wickedness, to my utter undoing both of soul and body. Oh, how admirable are the patience, long suffering, forbearance, and goodness of God to me, such an unworthy and sinful creature, that I should be brought to some sense of my miserable, lost, and undone condition by nature, my utter inability and insufficiency in myself, and in any thing to be done by me; that I saw sin and defilement cleaving to me in the

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best duties, and so was brought to go out by myself, and to look only to the Lord Jesus Christ and the Covenant of Grace in Him, for life and salvation; and so to renounce all, and embrace Christ as tendered in the Gospel, and to give up myself to the Lord, to enter into that blessed covenant of Grace, into which I hope and believe the Lord hath received me.

"And though I do and must confess, as before said, that since the Grace of God was given to me, I have not carried it as I ought, yet notwithstanding my unevenness and inconstancy in God's ways, my sluggish and dead frame, my often and repeated backslidings, which I desire to mention with tears and Godly sorrow,---Yet to the praise of Divine Grace, the Lord hath been pleased to uphold some work of His Grace in me, so that I hope I may say, 'I have not wickedly departed from my God;' but there hath been something within me, when I have been most indisposed to good, that hath checked the power of corruption, and made it burdensome to my soul, and maintained some holy breathings after God; I may say, If the Lord had not upheld His own work, I should have fallen not only foully but finally from God: Oh, 'What shall I render unto the Lord?' 'O, my soul, praise thou the Lord, and all that is within me bless His holy Name, that pardoneth all thine iniquities,' &c., Psalm ciii.

"The Lord hath been pleased, in all places where His providence hath cast me, to vouchsafe to me the privilege of enjoying His ordinances; and I may say my soul hath found great advantage and delight in and by them; and in particular by the preaching of Mr. Best (which some have undervalued, if not slighted—I pray God forgive them); I can say the Lord hath made His preaching profitable to me, both for quickening and comforting my heart, and I desire to bless God for him.

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"As to temporal blessings, the Lord hath been abundantly good unto me in many ways, and hath made my temporal mercies in some sort to be also spiritual mercies.

"He gave me my Wife graciously; united our hearts in Himself; made her useful by her example and converse to encourage, promote, and further me in the ways of God: She hath all along shewn love to my soul, and been a meet and blessed help to me in spirituals as well as temporals. The Lord be blessed for her abundantly, and recompense her love to me by the manifestations of His love to her soul, &c.

"In many hazardous and accidental dangers the Lord hath preserved me, when in the water, when thrown from my horse: Hath continued health to me in a great measure all my days, and preserved me and all my family in the time of the Great Plague in London, anno 1665.

"When I was newly married, and in partnership with my Sister, a design was laid to divest me of my trade and ruin me: The Lord gave me wisdom, and so directed affairs, that the cords were broken, and I escaped.

"When I received a great loss by Webberly [see page 16] God was pleased so to order it in His providence, that in the end it turned to my advantage.

"When another loss befell me, and some thought by false insinuations and reports to make advantage to my prejudice, the Lord did frustrate their purpose, and sustained me.

"I account it a great mercy that the Lord hath enabled me, and given me heart, to do good to my Relations, though some of them did repay me with unkindness, and envied my prosperity. Yet the Lord, blessed be His Name, kept me from a spirit of revenge or hatred, and by His Grace enabled me to return good and not evil to every one that evil entreated me. This I acknowledge

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to be not of myself, but of the Grace of God. To Him I ascribe the praise and glory.

"When I was in the Victualling affair, the Lord directed things so in His providence, that I was not ruined thereby, as I might have been.

"When in public employs, in the East India Committee, in the Company of Mercers, in the Hospital, in the Parliament, in the City,—The Lord assisted and carried me through all, so as I was accepted of the good, and those that maligned me and sought occasions against me (for no other cause but that I endeavoured conscientiously to discharge my duty, and would not comply in any thing I judged evil) could never accomplish their purpose. This was of the Lord, blessed be His Name!

"In the business of Shaftesbury's Jury, and of the Sheriff of London, to which I was called unwillingly and contrary to my own desire, the Lord carried me through all; and though the Lord permitted an Action to be illegally and unjustly prosecuted against me by Sir William Pritchard, whom God forgive, as also the Judge, Jury, and some of the Witnesses, who swore and judged unduly,—Yet the Lord hath done me good even thereby; for though I lost my trade and great outward advantages for getting an estate, yet I was preserved from the malice of men, which possibly might have designed to take away my life, and I hope my outward losses are abundantly made up in spiritual; the Lord having given me time from all worldly concerns, to mind the better part, and weaned me in some measure from seeking great things here.

"This year, without any application of mine to the King, or any conditions, the Judgment Sir William Pritchard obtained hath been released, which is a great mercy.

"Many other blessings the Lord hath vouchsafed to me; good Children, some married, and very happily, all

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of them, I hope, in covenant with God; and continuance of health to me and my family; with many other mercies which cannot all be reckoned; I may say, as in Psalms xl., 5, cxxxix., 17, 18, 'Oh, how great is the sum of them,' &c.

"O Lord, I desire to return praise, and renew my Covenant, and give up myself to the Lord. O Lord, enlarge my heart.

"Of my sins and mercies (as the Queen of Sheba) one half is not here mentioned. Time and paper fail me, that I can write no more."

And now drew near the memorable era of the Revolution, bringing with it Papillon's return from Exile; and his gradual return from spiritual to earthly concerns is apparent in the following letters to a friend in the Netherlands, himself a fellow-exile, whom internal evidence points out as Sir Patience Ward; one of the few Aldermen of London who supported him in 1682. The letters are a small selection from thirty-two which passed between them during the latter half of 1688; the first is to Papillon, the remaining six are from him:—

"Spa, 2nd July, 1688.

"MY HONOURED AND GOOD FRIEND,

"SIR,

"Tho' temptation hath so much prevailed on public faith, and its affections seemed once to have retreated into their winter state, yet as a spring may come, with a renovation of all things—which the faith that makes not haste waits for—so there are or may be particulars, who through grace surmounting all difficulties

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of times, compassionate the fallen, and rejoice and maintain a concern for those who stand firm the shock of trials, and it is the errand of this, Sir, to enquire after your own, and your Lady's and relations' health, so much by me wished, with the continuance of it unto those noble ends, which I am sure of your great diligence towards, that I may in the words of the Divine John to his beloved Gaius, wish above all things that you may prosper and be in health as your soul prospers.

"After the conduct of my Nephew and Niece to the French border (to whose Government you know the size of my affection) I took the further tour of Flanders, the pleasure whereof I will not recommend to a friend's trouble (otherwise than as circumstances which vary cases, as my own, may prevail), and at last I arrived here at the Spa; whither my Lord Sutherland who had spent six weeks at Aix, came, and for about fourteen days hath given me the honour and benefit of his conversation, and command of his great respects to you and Madam; and here I abide as in a place and diet apted to contemplation, with the advantage of health, which I hope with the Lord's blessing for a continuance of, and hence dispose my wanderings as the Lord shall direct, till I come to some little repose as I would once hope to the body, which not without much difficulty can be brought subject to the law of the Divine mind: Many have been the experiences of God in our early days as provision for our later times, but we have been left thereto but suitable additions to our growing occasions; and when I compare sufferings with deliverances, and amongst them the infatuations befallen some good men, I conclude with an emphasis or accent, 'What hath the Lord done for us!'

"By this time I might expect to hear of your call homewards, which I most heartily wish on such terms as most suit your own mind, and that I may have knowledge thereof and of your resolutions therein, that I may attend Madam so far as herself and my occasions (to be allowed of by her) will permit: It's just to allow your inclinations thitherwards a preference to mine, in respect of so much and many nearer relations there, and that you have the happiness to carry along with you well near all you brought forth thence, whilst what was dearest and most

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valuable to all that I had of this world must be left behind, though not without many a looking back, as those who by endeared affections go backwards and forwards, and are at a straight what to do, but making frequent visits of the last place they left their friend; and however others may judge, I doubt not friends will admit the prevalence of this passion, as a reward to that way which so fair a Guide would otherwise have made me.

"And now Sir, with acceptance of my sincere respects and service to yourself and Madam and Relations, will you favour me with the present of the same, as opportunity offers, to Sir John Guise and my Lady, to Mr. Gee and his, and any other of our colony which your prudence serves—not knowing whether you be increased or lessened; the like to our very good friend Mr. Best, to whom (after all our discourse) I pay a most hearty veneration and love on many respects; and will you please the like to Mr. Ledicar; my obligations to Mr. Clough, and that he will favour me with the present to Mr. Wellard and his Lady; and if Mr. Jackson be returned, that he will accept the same and to his Lady, for I may presume upon that tenure.

"If you shall favour me with a word of your health, &c., the address to Mr. David Vandenhennd, Marchant, à Cologne, for Mr. Francis Mott, will be sent safely wherever I shall be within a month; for I think it will be two months before I shall get back to Utrecht, and in the interim am as lost in a wood. My respects to your kinsmen Mr. Walling and Mr. Lafleur, and if you see Mr. Vanheyden, the same; I left one of his books with Mr. Shower of Rotterdam (to whom and his Lady I present due respects) to be restored him; my Niece's maid had taken it to read, and forgot to restore it.

"I do presume upon our mutual prayers, for what the Lord may see best for us, and a compliance with and complacency in His holy will in all things, however cross they may seem to our earthly part; and that the shaking of all things, and present removal of many, may cause our receiving the kingdom which cannot be shaken, and abide therein; that so the vicissitudes of all the earthly estate may have no effect to disturb us, but we may abide as on a rock against all the fluctuations and storms of the world, as those whose minds are stayed on God; on which

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subject it's unnecessary to enlarge to one so abundant in knowledge and experience as yourself, Sir, whom I desire to retain me in the character of, Dear Sir, your sincere affectionate Friend and Brother." *

"Utrecht, $\frac{18}{28}$th July, 1688.

"MOST HONOURED SIR,

"That faith which is truly divine, and centres on its right object, God in Christ, not only frees from perplexing fears, and maintains the mind in a perfect peace and tranquillity, but also by receiving communications from the fountain enables a Christian to surmount all difficulties and temptations that stand in the way of his duty, and abide firm, and unmoved by the shocks of trials; and not to be hasty, but with full submission and resignation to divine pleasure patiently to wait for the issue of things, and always to retain a truly Christian and compassionate spirit and concern for and towards others: From hence it is that you are pleased, in your most endearing letter of the 2nd instant from the Spa—to enquire concerning me and my family, for which we all return you our most hearty and humble thanks; and as for myself I must confess it is not altogether so with me as your charity and goodness prompt you to imagine—and therefore I desire your prayers, that the inward man may be renewed day by day, and that I may answer the Apostles' exhortation in Romans xii., 1, 2.

"I rejoice the good hand of God hath conducted you so in your travels that no disaster hath befallen you, and that you meet not only advantage for bodily health, but for the intellectual and better part. You are beginning to partake of the Celestial delights; for certainly it will be no small part of heavenly felicity, to behold and contemplate how the Divine goodness hath disposed all things towards us in this wilderness, and through so many changes and such variety of dispensations guided us to glory. Then we shall see indeed, with an emphasis, What hath the Lord

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* It may be remembered (as in Chapter xii., 23) that Sir Patience Ward was one of the three Aldermen who supported Papillon in his claim to be installed by the Lord Mayor as Sheriff.—*Vide* pp. 226-7.

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done for us; then we shall see that every thing that befell us here, as well the outward evils and afflictions, the reproaches and injuries of enemies, as the temporal good things, and love and kindness of friends—came all from special love, and concentred to our happiness—not one link of the chain of providence could have been wanting; then we shall see how our heavenly Father in infinite wisdom ordered all for good to us.

"To be frequent in these meditations now (which is your exercise) is of great advantage, as it disposeth for the state above, and as it fits for what further changes may be allotted us here; and therefore as I highly esteem you in other respects, so in this; and shall desire to follow your example.

"What might incline you to expect my call homewards, I know not; but as yet I have nothing relating thereto; however, I sense your love in wishing that whenever it is, it may be on suitable terms: And my Wife takes it for a very high favour that you are pleased to express so great civility toward her.

"I could have enlarged on what follows in your letter, but I forbear, lest I should occasion a suspension of those heavenly delights before mentioned, by turning your thoughts on one single link of the chain of Divine providence, which taken single and apart by itself could not be but very bitter; whereas the whole, viewed in conjunction with their tendencies, will afford most sweet and delightful contemplation.

"I have, according to your desire, acquainted the friends with your remembrance of them," &c.

"Utrecht, $\frac{4}{14}$th September, 1688.

"MOST HONOURED SIR,

"By your's of the 2nd instant I perceive how easily a pure mind is raised by meditation to the highest raptures, and to be swallowed up in the admiration of Divine love, which makes you conclude, 'Oh the height and depth,' &c.

"This brings to my remembrance the Disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration, who said, 'Master, it is good for us to be here;' but they were afterwards to descend, and to be at Mount

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Calvary; and those glorious manifestations were to prepare them for those future trials, temptations, and dismal providences that followed. Past experiences should, as you wisely observe, fit us with a suitable frame, in expectation of things to come. We may say in some sort, as the Psalmist, 'Woe is me that I dwell in Mesech,' &c.; and the times of this day are not much unlike what the prophet Micah describes, chapter vii.; the Lord enable us to follow His example mentioned in verse 7, and the Church's in the following verses.

"God's ways for the deliverance of His people are many times very terrible and dark, as in Psalm xviii., 7 to 16; of this we have had some experience, both in our own cases and in the public affairs of our days: The improvement the Psalmist makes thereof for future in the first three verses, viz., to love, trust, and call upon God, I doubt not will be your practice; and I pray the Lord to enable me to make it mine; as also that which the prophet Habakkuk, chapter iii., 17-19, gives us from his example, after he had pathetically set out the terrible manner of God's appearing for deliverance of His people, marching through the land in indignation, and riding upon His horses and chariots of Salvation.

"What the issue of the present designs on foot may be, the Lord only knows; and I humbly pray that the Lord will direct you and me and all His people, that we may know our duty and be led in the right way, as in Psalm cvii., 7, and that we may be fixed on that foundation laid in Zion mentioned in Isaiah xxviii., 16.

"The armament here is hastened with all industry, and it cannot be long before the design will be manifest. The French and English Ambassadors have put in Memorials to the States, to demand the reason thereof; and the French Ambassadors' paper closeth thus, 'Toutes ces circonstances, Messieurs, et tant d'autres que je ne dois pas rapporter içi, persuadent avec raison Le Roi mon Mâitre que cet armement regarde l'Angleterre,' &c. By this it is apparent that both France and England will be engaged; and it may be doubted whether that which hath long since been said may not be true, that England should pay the piper.

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"As I told you in my last, I sit still and know nothing; but amongst the ordinary people it is talked, that most of the English here will go with the Fleet. Whether it be so, or no, time will shew. I should have been glad to have understood somewhat of your apprehensions on what I intimated in my former; and when you remove, I shall be glad to know which way you steer your course.

"I have borrowed the book you mentioned in your last, and shall send it you," &c.

"Utrecht, 25th September, 1688.

"HONOURED SIR,

"I delayed till this day to answer yours of the 19th instant, in expectation that matters would have so opened that I might have advised you things certain; and though yet there is no public declaration of the design of these great forces raised by the Prince, &c., the King of France his reasons of invading the Palatinate, &c., and his letter to Cardinal D'Estrées to be communicated to the Pope, doth discover his design to dweedle and if possible to draw all the Papist Princes, without regard to their civil or temporal interest, to promote what he hath projected for the rooting out the Northern Heresy, as it is called; and he tells the Pope that the Prince his design is against England and against the Papists.

"You have no doubt heard what hath been said here, That on the Prince acquainting the States with the Treaties he had made with several Princes, &c., they did return him thanks for his great care on behalf of this Country, approved all, and left all to him, with assurance of all supplies from them; so that there seems to be a full and perfect understanding, and that whatsoever his designs are, they will go on. It is said that the Prince did by some secret ways penetrate into the counsels of the French King for the ruin of this State (in order to his grand work of destroying the Protestants, &c.,) and that thereupon the Prince did bestir himself to confederate with the Protestant

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Princes, and to countermine the French and popish designs; and that things were secretly carried on, and not in the usual way of this Country, to prevent disappointment. Things will now speedily come to effect, and it will appear what is intended, and on what grounds. The wind is this day come easterly, and so all matters will be hastened.

"It is talked, but I know nothing of my own knowledge, that Sir J. G. is to be a Colonel, also Mr. G.; and that Mr. N. is to be a Captain, as also Mr. W., who is already gone from hence, and the rest will go, as I hear, this day, or to-morrow. Some other particular persons of the English go from hence, and many of the Scotch. It is said my Lord Wiltshire, Lord Mordent, Lord Lovelace, Sir John Hotham, Mr. Herbert, Sir Robert Peyton, and several others of quality are at The Hague and Rotterdam, who will go with the Prince, and that most of them are to be in Commission. I live retiredly, and am no way privy to public affairs; so I sit still, not hasting to meddle in what I understand not, nor to act by an implicit faith, but beg of God, as you do, to illuminate our minds, and to dispose us to a conformity to His holy will. We ought all, as Ezra did (viii., 21) to join together 'to seek of God a right way for us,' &c. It is very apparent that there are great contrivances and combinations on foot, to destroy the Church and people of God; and we may apply what the Psalmist saith at the beginning of Psalm lxxxiii., to the present times, as also Psalm lxiv., 4-6, but as it follows, verse 7, 8, &c., 'God can shoot at them with an arrow,' &c.; oh, that I and all the people of God could from David's example in Psalm xxvii. take encouragement to act faith above fear, to desire the enjoyment of the exercise of true Religion above all worldly and temporal things, to answer God's call, and heartily seek His favour, to be earnest in prayer, deprecating God's displeasure and the hiding of His face, imploring His help, teaching, and conduct in a plain path, and to deliver us from the will of enemies, and that we may by faith believe and hope yet to 'see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living,' and wait on Him for strengthening our hearts, that we may 'be of good courage,' and still continue to 'wait on the Lord.'

"Your letters to Mr. Jackson I have delivered," &c.

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"Utrecht, $\frac{2nd}{12th}$ October, 1688.

"MOST HONOURED SIR,

"You had from our good friend Mr. Jackson an account of what passed on Friday last, which made me defer till this day to answer yours of the 26th past, that so I might give you the most certain information of things that I could.

"From Amsterdam, of the 9th and 10th, they wrote thus:—'We are assured that the Dutch Fleet, upwards of 50 sail of Men-of-War, sailed for the Downs on the 6th instant, under the command of Vice-Admiral Herbert, all carrying English colours, &c. By the English post, come in this forenoon, almost every letter hints that they have now the alarm of what is coming; and one saith, The sheer report of the Dutch being at sea, and designing to land, frighted us from shipping,' &c.

"This is what is advised from Amsterdam, &c.

"I was with Mrs. Peacock, who presents her respects; she will do her endeavour to enquire after convenient lodgings, &c.

"I have not time to enlarge, to tell you how my thoughts work upon all things. When the manifesto or declaration comes out, which is thought will not be till the Prince is landed in England, then we shall have matter to contemplate; in the meantime, I conclude with that of the wise man, Proverbs xvi., 33, 'The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord;' and therefore let us cast our burden upon the Lord, as in Psalm lv., 22; and let us never glory in anything but the knowledge of Him, as in Jeremiah ix., 23, 24, and 1. Corinthians iii., 20, 21.

"I hope speedily to see you," &c.

"Utrecht, 5th October, 1688.

"MOST HONOURED SIR,

"I must crave your excuse if I be brief at this time in answer to yours of the 3rd instant, in regard of the Preparation for the Sacrament, on which account we are now going to Church; and if at all times it is necessary and our duty to get our souls established in the assurance of God's love to us in Christ, and by

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faith to derive influence of grace and strength for Him, to enable us comfortably to do and suffer as Christians, much more it is so in this juncture, when things in the world are in so great a fermentation, not unlike what is mentioned in Psalm xlvi., 2, 3; and if I may allude to what is said in verse 4. This blessed Ordinance is one of those streams, whereby the City of God (true believers) are made glad, and from the sense and assurance of the Divine love are engaged and strengthened in all conditions to rejoice in God, and to live to His glory.

"As you very well say, we have great cause to fear what may be the issue of things, because of our unsuitableness for so great mercy, and the unqualifiedness of some to be instruments in such a work; but God can give deliverance and holiness, as is prophesied in Obadiah 17; and that it may be so, let us wait and pray for the pourings out of the Spirit of Grace and supplications—as you are pleased to mention from Zechariah xii., 10.

"Since my last there is little news: All, both English and Scotch, designed for the expedition, are gone from hence; and it is said that this day all may be on board the Fleet, and then the Prince will also go on board.

"The Fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral Herbert, by reason of the stormy winds hath not been over on the English coast. I perceive you have heard what news was from England by the last post; and that all fair weather was made towards the Church party, &c.

"Touching lodgings for you, we are enquiring, but cannot yet meet with any to satisfaction," &c.

"Utrecht, 27th November, 1688.

"MOST HONOURED SIR,

"I find myself obliged to crave your pardon for my so unpolished and defective reply to your most kind letter of the 21st instant, being hurried by the late arrival and speedy departure of the post; your goodness will observe the affection, and cover the imperfections thereof; on this I depend.

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"There is no duty more commended to us in Scripture, no grace more necessary to be exercised, and of more advantage and benefit to ourselves and others—than Christian joy—which is founded on our interest in Christ. In Him we are complete[1]; in Him we have righteousness and strength,[2] &c.; and as we are His,[3] so all things become ours; and therefore neither our own weaknesses or infirmities, nor the malice of enemies, nor troubles and disturbances in the world, should hinder us from maintaining a cheerful spirit in all times and in all conditions; for the joy of the Lord should be our strength.[4]

"The Lord hath pleased in the Holy Scriptures to make such provision for supporting the hearts of His people, and such gracious promises, as would require volumes to expatiate upon, I only name two[5] or three as footnotes, which probably have reference to these latter days. You have great reason therefore, Sir, to bewail that the Scripture is so much slighted by many, and looked upon as *Romances*, and *they* even often preferred.

"We cannot say too much in magnifying the Word of God, and His goodness in affording it to us, and sanctify our hearts that we may be, and have our conversation conformed to it, that through patience and comfort of the Scriptures we may have hope, and so be filled[6] with joy and peace in believing—waiting for the coming[7] of our Lord Jesus, and His glorious[8] appearing—whether at the end of the world, when all things shall be consummated, and the kingdom[9] shall be given up to the Father, or before that time for the Restoration of all things, and creating[10] new heavens, &c.; the Lord direct our[11] hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ.[12]

"Since my last we have had two posts, and though I doubt not but you have the news otherwise, yet I send you enclosed. This morning, from Rotterdam, I am advised there is a ketch come in from Plymouth, that saith, As the Dutch Fleet went out of Torbay they met with five French Men-of-War—took two, and sunk three; and that the Dutch Fleet lies at Falmouth, and the English at the Isle of Wight. In a little time we shall see how

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[1] Colossians ii., 10. [2] Isaiah xlv., 24, 25. [3] I. Corinthians xiii., 21-23. [4] Nehemiah viii., 2. [5] Isaiah xii., xxxv., lxvi., 5-15., John xiv. [6] Romans xv., 4. [7] Romans xv., 12. [8] I. Corinthians i., 7. [9] Titus ii., 13. [10] I. Corinthians xv., 24. [11] Isaiah lxv., 17, 18. [12] II. Thessalonians iii., 5.

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things will go, and whether a free Parliament will be called. In such case let me say to you, as you did lately to me, What is the work which the day calls on us for? You are better able to resolve the case than I; and therefore I shall gladly be informed of your sentiments; for it may be not only a time for prayer, but for actual service. God grant that we may know and do our duty.

"My Wife and self and all mine, and Mr. Jackson and his Lady, Mr. Best, and Mr. Clough present their humble service to you, and long for your coming; Mr. Clough tells me Mr. Welland often enquires of you. Rest, &c.

"Postscript.—The French have burned some villages near Bolduc, and taken prisoners; and the Ambassador, Monsieur D'Avaux, is recalled, and hath taken his leave—so there is a war declared with France. The post is arrived from England, but as yet we have not the letters. It is talked as if it were like to come to a battle between the King and the Prince."

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CHAPTER XIII.

RETURN FROM EXILE—ATTENDANT ENGAGEMENTS.

Success in England of the Prince of Orange, 1688—Papillon presents to the Princess an Address of Congratulation—He writes to the Mayor and others at Dover, again offering himself as Member of Parliament for the Borough—His Election—He warmly supports the Government—He is pressed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London to take his seat among them, but he begs to be excused—He is required by the King to accept the post of Commissioner for Victualling the Navy—and reluctantly does so—Disorganized state of the Department—and War with France—Success of the New Commissioners notwithstanding difficulties—Interview of the Commissioners with the King and the Lords of the Treasury, November, 1694—Reflections in Parliament on Victualling of Navy refuted—Papillon reads before the King a statement of the depressed condition of the Department, with proposed remedies, November, 1696—Papillon petitions for release from Office, September, 1692, and November, 1694; and again in 1697-8-9—Closing reflections on his career—His views on Political and Religious Parties.

THE last working decade of Thomas Papillon's life was dawning; and with it came the prospect, as to Politics, of the fulfilment of his most cherished desires.

On learning, while still in Holland, of the success of William III. in England, and of the free Parliament that His Royal Highness was convoking, he delayed not to proffer his services again to the Electors of Dover; and he then took an early opportunity of presenting an address to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange, who had not yet joined her husband in England.

The address was as follows; and Papillon notes at the foot of his copy of it, that Her Royal Highness "most Christianly owned the Divine hand in all, and professed

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that all the undertakings of His Highness were sincerely designed for the glory of God and the good of His Church."

[ADDRESS.]

"May it please your Royal Highness the Princess, and I hope in a little time I may say, Gracious Sovereign.

"When I consider what God hath wrought in you, and by your Royal self and his most Illustrious Highness, for the Church of God in general, and the Kingdom of England in particular, I cannot but think it an indispensable duty on me and on every true Englishman and good Protestant, not only in the first place to admire and adore God's Grace, and the wondrous workings of His Divine providence, but also to acknowledge as instruments under God your Royal self and His Illustrious Highness, and to honour you whom God hath honoured, and pay you due homage and obeisance, which I most humbly and heartily do:

"And as I humbly conceive the case hath some resemblance to that of the kingly prophet David in the 101st Psalm, so I pray that the Lord would endue your Royal self and His Most Illustrious Highness with the same Spirit, that you may act as he professed to do, and as he longed for. So may you ever desire and always enjoy the Divine presence, that the present and succeeding generations may call you blessed."

Address to the Electors of Dover:—

"Utrecht, y^e^ $\frac{10}{20}$th December, 1688.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Though for some time I have been absent from my country and habitation, yet I have ever retained a true sense of the kindness and respect which I received from your Corporation, and think myself bound to testify the same on all occasions wherein I may be capacitated to serve them; And therefore hearing (if it be true as is reported) that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to summon a Parliament, I deemed it a duty incumbent on me (being lately freed from that which caused my absence) to let them know that I am ready to serve them, and that if they shall please to make choice of me and call me

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thereto, I will not fail (God continuing life and health) to come and attend the service, of which I entreat you to acquaint the Corporation:

"I am sure, and can appeal to God, that when they honoured me with their employ I sought not myself nor my own advantage, but the good of my Country and the welfare of the Corporation that entrusted me,—Whereof as my friends were then (as I doubt not) fully satisfied, so I cannot but think that those who might in those times through mistake have other apprehensions, are since thoroughly convinced, and now are and will be my friends.

"There is nothing more desirable than Love and Union among Christians, and nothing more conducing to the prosperity of a Corporation than a friendly agreement of all the Members; when there are divisions, and setting one party to supplant and turn out another, the consequences are prejudicial to the whole, whereof there hath been too much experience, which therefore I hope will be avoided in future, and that we shall be all of one mind, and evidence ourselves to be really sincere Protestant Christians, good Subjects, and true Englishmen.

"I am, Gentlemen,

"Your most affectionate Friend and humble Servant,

"THO. PAPILLON.

"To

"The Worshipful William Stokes,
Nicholas Cullen, Sen., and Robert
Jacob, Esquires, and to Mr. Frederick
De Vinck, and Captain Taverner, &c.,
these present and Dover.

"Pray remember my love and respects to all friends, and favour me with an answer to this by the first."

The suit succeeded, and early in January Sir Basil Dixwell, Bart., of Broome Park, and Thomas Papillon were duly elected to serve the Borough in Parliament; and on the 11th March, in a Grand Committee on the King's Speech, we find Papillon warmly espousing his cause in the way of Supply, thus:—

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"The consideration of Ireland, the Fleet, and Holland, all depend upon the Revenue, of which some is for life, some for a term of years. Some the other day thought all the Revenue was vested in the King; others did doubt it; therefore we ought to put it past doubt. Therefore I move for an Act to give and grant the Revenue to the King, that it may be collected without dispute, and an indemnity for the collecting it since the Vacancy; and if the state of the Revenue be ready, I would have it delivered in by Sir Robert Howard."

And again on the 14th March:—

"Our condition is not so secure as it is thought. There is a great enemy that has an intention to destroy both the Dutch and us. Here is yet no settlement of the Revenue, and they will be hard put to it. I see not so hearty an union abroad as I could wish, though I am glad to see it in this House; but I fear there is an intention to undermine us. Here is yet no settlement of the Revenue, the Oaths, nor the Courts of Justice. We know the computation of the charge pretty near, and I believe the whole about 6 or £7,000,000, if you voluntarily give the Dutch such a sum, without casting it to a penny or twopence.

"But it is to me of great consequence, that as we address the King on other occasions we may do it on this, that if we do support Alliances we may be fixed in them.

"You cannot avoid war with France, and you must support Alliances, and let the King know so much.

"As for the charge of Ireland, it is easily known, 20,000 men being the number given in; if we go to particulars we shall never have an end. And as for the Customs, though some of them have been irregular, yet gather them as they have been these twenty-eight years.

"Therefore I would address the King for an Alliance with the Dutch, which will save us, and we will support him to support them."

In August, 1689, Papillon was placed by the King on a Commission of five, for the disbursement of £1,000 a month

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in the relief of French refugees; the other Commissioners being the Bishops of London and Salisbury, Mr. Hampden (a Commissioner of the Treasury and afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer), and Sir John Mordent. The King first ordered the outlay, and Parliament confirmed it.

In October, 1689, Papillon was chosen Alderman of Portsoken Ward. He arrived in London on the 11th, having come from Acrise; and on the 14th several gentlemen of the Ward waited upon him, begging him to accept office; but he told them at once that he could not. On Tuesday the 15th, according to summons, he attended the Court of Aldermen, and on his arrival in the ante-chamber (the "Long Gallery") Sir Patience Ward, Sir John Lawrence, and other friends, already Aldermen, came out to urge his acceptance of the post, and the Common Cryer brought a gown with the Lord Mayor's orders to invest him; but he resolutely refused: And on coming into the presence of the Court, he at once begged the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to excuse him on various accounts, which he named. The Court were very unwilling to accede to his request, but out of regard for his past services and sufferings, they granted him time to consider the matter. Being called in a second time, he told his Lordship that he had done so, and his circumstances were such that he could not accept the place; that he hoped his Lordship and the Court would have considered the reasons he had already given: That he had suffered greatly in his estate; and also in his reputation with many, through misapprehension: That he had been in the service of his Country and of the City for nearly twenty years, without any pecuniary advantage, nor had he desired such: That sixteen years ago, he fined for Sheriff, and he then resolved not to entertain

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places of Government: That afterwards, when he was chosen, and exposed himself for the vindication of the Rights of the City, he had many solicitations and promises, but when the trial came on, the next month, except Sir Thomas Allen, which he must speak to his eternal praise, and Alderman Cornish, who is dead, and the present Chamberlain, none would own him, or so much as appear to witness in the cause; their memories were bad, and they had forgotten all: That through his sufferings and loss of trade his estate was much impaired, so that he was less able to maintain the honour of such a place; and also being engaged to service in Parliament, he could not embrace other duties to the neglect of the former.

One Alderman suggested that according to custom he must first take the Oath and his seat, before the Court could consider his request for discharge; he replied that he was ignorant of the custom; and how could he take the Oath when he could not accept the place?

On being called in a third time, the Lord Mayor told him they had resolved to defer the matter to a future day; and Papillon rejoined by expressing his hope that the Court would kindly consider his objections, and discharge him at their next meeting; and this they eventually did on the 10th December.

Though Papillon declined civic honours and attendant charges, he was not proof against the urgent call of his Sovereign, whom he had so warmly welcomed to the throne. His Majesty sent for him in November, 1689, and desired him to take office as First Commissioner for Victualling the Navy; he begged to be excused on account of the neglected condition of the business, but the King would take no refusal, and eventually raised his salary from £400 to £1,000 a year. The post, however, was no

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sinecure; for the war with France, which lasted from April, 1689, till September, 1697, rendered the duties very arduous, so that he was obliged to abandon all trade, and devote himself to his Victualling duties from early morning to late in the evening, and thus incurred far more labour than the post of Alderman and occupation as a Merchant would probably have involved. Moreover, as he had felt hurt by the neglect of his City friends in the matter of his efforts to support City Rights, so in his new office, though acting most zealously and faithfully, he encountered some unjust aspersions; so hard is it for an honest man to escape the shafts of the enemy.

The circumstances of Papillon's appointment as Victualling Commissioner were these:—William III. had undertaken the invasion of England for the avowed object of restoring law and order; and as the first step in the fulfilment of that purpose he summoned a free Parliament, but the more tedious task of purging the various departments of the Government remained to be done. Laxity was evident in most of them, and in the supply of provisions to the Army and Navy gross negligence, to say the least, had occurred. On 1st June, 1689, the matter was brought before the House of Commons; other important questions hindered its full discussion, and on 20th August Parliament had a month's recess; but in November the subject was resumed, and the Commissioners for Victualling the Navy were sent for in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Meanwhile the King had not remained indifferent, but had instituted a searching enquiry into the affair. His heart was set on conquering the enemies of the Protestant cause, and he well knew that sailors could not fight on empty or ill-fed stomachs. The case is thus summarized by Macaulay, Chapter XV. (1689).

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"In the House of Commons there was, as might have been expected, a series of sharp debates on the misfortunes of the autumn. The negligence or corruption of the Navy Board, the frauds of the Contractors, the rapacity of the Captains of the King's ships, the losses of the London Merchants, were themes for many keen speeches. There was indeed reason for anger. A severe enquiry, conducted by William in person at the Treasury, had just elicited the fact that much of the salt with which the meat furnished to the fleet had been cured, had been by accident mixed with galls such as are used for the purpose of making ink. The Victuallers threw the blame on the rats, and maintained that the provisions thus seasoned, though really disagreeable to the palate, were not injurious to health. The Commons were in no temper to listen to such excuses. Several persons who had been concerned in cheating the Government and poisoning the seamen were taken into custody by the Sergeant: But no censure was passed on the the chief offender, Torrington; nor does it appear that a single voice was raised against him: he had personal friends in both parties; he had many popular qualities," &c.

The result was the appointment of a new Board of Victualling Commissioners for the Navy, in which Papillon was placed first; his fellow-Commissioners being Symon Mayne, John Agar, Humphry Hyles, and James Howe, Esquires.

Though disposed as yet to admit both Whigs and Tories into offices of trust, on this occasion the King appointed only Whigs, well judging who were his true friends. His special motive in selecting Papillon does not appear, but his Majesty may very probably have heard of his conduct as Contractor for Victualling the Navy (in conjunction with Mr. Child and others) in 1672-3; as well as of his general character as a Merchant; and of his well-tried zeal in the cause of civil and religious liberty.

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As regards Papillon's success in the discharge of his duties, Macaulay affords conclusive evidence, taking it in connection with his own incidental remarks on the work.

Writing of the opening of Parliament in October, 1691, not quite two years after the appointment of the new Victualling Commissioners, Macaulay says, chapter XVIII.

"At sea there had been no great victory, but there had been a great display of power and activity; and though many were dissatisfied because not more had been done, none could deny that there had been a change for the better. The ruin caused by follies and vices of Torrington had been repaired; the fleet had been well equipped, the rations had been abundant and wholesome, and the health of the crews had consequently been, for that age, wonderfully good."

And a footnote quotes a letter from an Officer serving on board the *Lennox*, forming a Journal of the English and Dutch fleet, which says:—

"We attribute our health, under God, to the extraordinary care taken in the well ordering of our provisions, both meat and drink."

And again, writing of the year 1694, and of the conduct of the British fleet under Admiral Russell on the Southern Coast of Spain, Macaulay says, chapter XX.:—

"It is but just to him [Russell] to say that from the time he became First Lord of the Admiralty there was a decided improvement in the Naval administration. Though he lay with his fleet many months near an inhospitable shore, and at a great distance from England, there were no complaints about the quality or quantity of provisions. The crews had better food and drink than they had ever had before; comforts which Spain did not afford were supplied from home; and yet the charges were not greater than in Torrington's time, when the sailor was poisoned with mouldy biscuit and nauseous beer."

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The part which Papillon bore in effecting these happy results will appear in some measure from his own statements in the following Petitions for release, and partly also from the reflections which others made on him as the head of the Department: And the difficulties under which himself and his colleagues carried on their duties are evident from several M.SS. he has left, and from the general history of the time as regards the condition of the Treasury.

The fact is that though Parliament unanimously counselled war with France in 1689, promised to support the King in its prosecution, and renewed their assurances from time to time till a favourable peace was obtained in 1697, they seldom voted more than half the amount necessary, and even this was often granted on certain sources of income which failed to realize the expected sums. In order to meet these deficiencies payments for goods and labour were made to a great extent in "*Tallies*,' and these again became so depreciated that at the close of 1696 they were at a discount of 40, 50, and 60 per cent.*

The depression of the Tallies, as also of Bank of England notes, and of credit in general, was checked by the firmness of the House of Commons and the sagacity of Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. New taxes were imposed for the liquidation of arrears, the Bank of England was supported by an additional Subscription of £800,000 Capital, to be made in Tallies or Notes, and a regular system of issue and redemption of Exchequer Bills was inaugurated. Though many men of experience, Papillon included, expressed grave doubts of the success of the scheme, it thoroughly answered; £1,000,000 was soon subscribed to the Bank, and credit quickly revived.

* Rapin's and Tindal's "History of England."

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The streights endured beforehand by the Victualling Department, and doubtless by others, will appear below:—

[AUTOGRAPH MS.]

"A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF WHAT PASSED AT KENSINGTON, THE 1ST NOVEMBER, 1693.

"Monday the 1st November, 1693, all the Commissioners and Mr. Philip Papillon waited on the King at Kensington; they were there before the Lords of the Treasury came, and Mr. Papillon spake both to Mr. Chancellor and my Lord Godolphin, as they went to introduce them.

"As his Majesty passed from the Queen's lodgings to the Treasury we stood all together, and the King was pleased to say as he passed, 'How do you do, Mr. Papillon?'

"A little while after the King was gone into the Treasury, we were called in, and his Majesty gave us his hand to kiss; and then Mr. Papillon said 'May it please your Majesty, we have been under very great difficulties, both from the greatness of the action, the dearness of provisions, and the scarcity of money; but I have served your Majesty with my heart as well as with my hands and my head, and I hope I may say as much for my partners.' Mr. Mayne thereupon said to the same purpose that he had served his Majesty heartily. My Lord said they had furnished us with as much money as the Parliament had appointed, and he doubted not but when matters were represented to Parliament by his Majesty's command, and that those of us who were Members did second the same, and represent that the moneys appointed by the Parliament were £100,000 short by reason of the dearness and scarcity of provisions, that the Parliament would give a credit for money to be taken up for providing for the future service. Mr. Papillon said, They that were Members would not be wanting to do their part when the business came into the House. The King said he hoped we did go on to make provision; Mr. Papillon said they could not go on for want of money; they had bought what they could by contract, and could not now buy in the market without money. My Lord

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Godolphin said we must make use of some of the £2,000 a week towards buying of flesh, for that they could not supply more money than the Parliament did make provision for.

"Mr. Papillon said that now was the season, and they would do all that was possible; that it was a great inconvenience that the Estimates to the Parliament were made much less than the charge came to, and that greater qualities of provisions were called for, than were put in the Estimates; the last year about £70,000 value, and this year it would be more; all the fleet were kept in victuals all the year long. But they would do their utternost endeavour."

Parliament re-assembled four days after this interview, and was opened by the King in person. He appealed earnestly for support in prosecution of the war, and urged the need of increased forces. The Commons responded readily, and voted nearly £5,000,000 for the Army and Navy; but this was far below the amount actually requisite. Indeed Ministers never demanded nearly so much as they required.

An incident may be here mentioned touching Papillon's official position. Immediately after replying to the King's Speech both Houses of Parliament proceeded to enquire into the causes of the loss of the "*Smyrna fleet*" of Merchantmen in June, and the blame that might be due to the Admirals who had been commissioned to protect it. The enquiry lasted many days and was carried on with much warmth. It was suggested that the English fleet had been insufficiently provisioned; but Papillon at once denied the charge. On the Victualling Commissioners being called up as a body they confirmed his statement, and the House exculpated them; but during the debate, for such the enquiry became, Sir Christopher Musgrave cynically remarked:—

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"It is said that the fleet was provisioned partly in kind, and partly on *Credit;* I consider it no *Credit* to Papillon that he should follow in the steps of Parsons" [one of the Commissioners dismissed from office in 1689].

No notice was taken of the remark.

On 30th December, 1696, three years later, Papillon again attended the King at Kensington, and read two papers, one describing the distressed condition of the Department, and the other suggesting remedies for its relief:—Allusion is made to another paper, "The State of the Victualling," but that is missing.

"30th December, 1696. FOUL DRAFT OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE KING AT KENSINGTON.

By the Account of Debts delivered in the 30th September last there was owing to the Victualling Office, as by the particulars		...£478,435 11 5
The balance of the Cash was deducted, being	£89,302 9 7	
Of which there remains in Tallies undisposed of	£31,939 0 8	
More reserved in Tallies for the Excise...	£8,000 0 0	
More a Note on the Excise unpaid ...	£3,052 8 10	
		£42,991 9 6

So the Victualling stood indebted to the 30th September, 1696, £521,427 0 11

"Besides the several debts not brought in, owing in the Straits, and for short allowance money mentioned in the said list of 20th September, with more for all Victuals issued from 30th September to last of December;—so that it may appear that the Debt of the Victualling to the last of December must be above £600,000.

"It is true that there remains of the quota for the last year, after the rate of 20s. per man per month, £38,772. 6. 5½, but it is likewise true that there is £42,991. 9. 6. as above remaining useless in Tallies, and £4,695. 16. 7. allowed for discount and short payment of Tallies, and that there is upwards of £260,000 for over issues of Provisions, for which there hath

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been no money at all as yet assigned, besides the former great debt in the four first years and in the year 1694, short of what was settled by the Lords, as by the State of the Victualling appears.

"For carrying on the Service there is money required,—To send to all the several ports to make provision suitable to the Declaration, which of flesh and some other species cannot be done but in the season. For buying Beef and Pork and also Peas, which cannot be procured without ready-money, nor at any time of the year for flesh but in the proper season, which is already about half-past, and so needs the greater sums, for that all flesh is generally dearer by about 20 per cent. after Christmas than before.

"To procure Bread, the Bakers having run out all their Stocks, and desisted from baking, for want of money to buy Corn, and requiring money to be advanced to them before they can deliver any bread, for which they now ask 20s. per cwt., which is about double the price in ordinary times:

"To pay the Brewers from time to time part of what was delivered the last year, upon which they promise to go on brewing, provided some course be taken that the Commissioners of Excise may give them time for paying the Excise of the beer they deliver for the use of the Fleet, and that they may not be forced to pay the Excise as for strong beer.

"For providing Malt, Hops, Oatmeal, Coals, Flour, Casks, &c., of which nothing can be procured without payment of former debts:

"For payment of Pursers their necessaria and extra necessaria money, of which there is a very great sum in arrear, and the Pursers cannot furnish their ships with necessaries unless they have money:

"For payment of a month's freight to such ships as shall be taken up for Victualling Ships to attend the Fleet with Bread and Beer and such other provisions as they may want:

"For payment of money to the Cheesemongers on account of Butter and Cheese formerly delivered, and to make provision of those species for the outset of the Fleet, and for supply for the rest of the ensuing year:

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"For payment of Bills of Exchange drawn from Turkey and from Ireland, which if not duly paid will be protested, and all credit fail abroad; as also for many Bills of Exchange from the West Indies, New England, Virginia, &c.:

"For buying Salt to cure the flesh withal:

"There are likewise great sums of money due to the Labourers, Bakers, Coopers, and Workmen here in the Yards at London and Chatham, Dover, and other Ports, to the value already of £13,000 or £14,000, and without payment the poor men must starve or leave the work and take other employment, as in some places they have declared they will.

"The Public Works at Chatham cannot be maintained without weekly supplies of money, and that considerable, as the number of men increases, by the last letters from thence there were 3,000 men to be daily victualled.

"That which hath brought the Victualling Office to this condition hath been:—

"1st.—The recoining the Money last year, by reason whereof those that credited the Office were only paid in Tallies, by which they lost very considerably, or else they have the Tallies remaining in their hands useless.

"2ndly.—The making the Declarations very much short of what the Service required, by reason whereof moneys were not provided to answer the demands of the Victualling.

"3rdly.—That the charge of the Victualling in dear years, considering also the extraordinary charge of freights for Victualling ships abroad, &c., hath far exceeded the allowance of 20s. per man per month.

"In the year '94, all provisions were nearly, and some above, double the price of former years. In the years '95 and '96, provisions were also very dear, above the usual rates, though not so excessive as in '94, and in this year, 1697, they are likely to be extraordinary dear, for bread they now demand 20s. per cwt., which is double the ordinary price, and the want of money at the beginning of the season will render all things more chargeable.

"December 30th, '96."

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[SUGGESTIONS.]

"That the provision in Ireland, Kinsale, and Dublin, for 1,000 men for 13 months, amounting to £13,000 at 20s. per man per month, be supplied by the Lords Justices there.

"That besides remaining quota of the last year, £20,000 per week be assigned for the Victualling in England, till such time as the Parliamentary funds can be settled, and that the remainder be assigned for the rest of the Declaration, which will not serve longer than June.

"That for supply of several of the outposts, till money can be raised more plentifully, credit may be given by the Commissioners of Excise not exceeding the value of £20,000 on the whole.

"That there be a distinct account kept of the Bills drawn for the said £20,000 and that the same be paid as soon as the Parliamentary Funds are settled, and assignments made thereon, which is supposed may come in as soon as the Bills drawn may be due, or within a month after at most.

"That for supplying the remaining part of the year, some care may be taken in time for a suitable provision, as also against the next year, to begin to make provision in season.

"December 30th, 1696."

The "State of the Victualling" and these two papers were read before the King at Kensington, on Wednesday, 30th December, 1696, with the following closing remarks:—

"As they [the Commissioners] have always done their uttermost endeavour to carry on the Service, so they shall continue still to do, and to use their best discretion to manage the same to His Majesty's most advantage.

"They have in obedience to his Majesty's directions, as far as was possible, observed the payments in course of the several species with which the Office was credited, though that method could not universally be a Rule in all things, and as the case now stands cannot be practised, for that they must be paid in the first place who will give new credit, and many sums of money that have been ordered them have been by the Lords of the Treasury appropriated to particular services.

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"As the case now stands, they cannot see any prospect of providing for carrying on the service without moneys be weekly and punctually supplied, and that as soon as the Parliament have settled their funds the whole for this year's Declaration may be assigned by such notes or methods as may be passable from man to man without loss, for the whole Declaration made for the year '97, including the over-issues in the former, will be all required before the last of June."

We have seen the difficulties and the successes attending Papillon and his colleagues in their duties as Victualling Commissioners; the following Petitions for release from office whch Papillon made from time to time during nearly seven years, will show how burdensome to him was the post, the duties of which he so zealously discharged.

"To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of their Majesty's Treasury, The humble Petition of Thomas Papillon, one of the present Commissioners for Victualling their Majesty's Navy—Sheweth

"That your Petitioner did enter upon this Service, not of choice, but in obedience to his Majesty:

"That his Majesty was pleased to intimate that he would consider him in particular, and accordingly as he hath understood did direct Mr. Jephson, and afterwards Mr. Guy, that of his Majesty's bounty he should be paid £150 each quarter, to make up the Salary of £600 appointed as a Commissioner of the Victualling to £1,000 per annum.

"That during the three years now ending at Michaelmas there hath been the greatest action that ever was, and that for the well performance of the same he hath been necessitated to lay aside all trade and neglect his own private concerns, and hath taken indefatigable pains, attended the service early and late, spent his whole time therein, and hath neither directly or indirectly made any advantage to himself thereby, save only what he hath received and expects to receive from their Majesties:

"That through the blessing of God on his and his partners' endeavours the Service hath been well and timely performed,

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and with as great frugality and good husbandry as was possible, time and circumstances considered, and he may say that several thousand pounds have been saved therein, through their management.

"That of what his Majesty graciously intended him he hath been paid only two quarters, so that at Michaelmas there will be £1,500 thereof behind:

"That during these three years many debts have been contracted for carrying on the Service, a list whereof will be shortly tendered to your Lordships, which he humbly recommends to your Lordships' care:

"That he hath always been, is, and shall ever be ready to serve their Majesties to his uttermost ability, but in regard of his age, being now in his 70th year, finding himself unfit to bear the tracasse and fatigue of his employment, which as managed by him is beyond what is generally conceived,—He in duty to their Majesties gives this timely notice, and earnestly begs a dismission:

"Humbly beseeching your Lordships to represent his case and request to his sacred Majesty, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss him from any further attendance on this Service, and to direct that the said £1,500 graciously intended him by his Majesty may be paid him, or Assignments given him for the same.

"And your Petitioner shall ever pray, &c.,

"THO. PAPILLON.

"This Petition was intended to have been presented the 23rd September, 1692, but Mr. Hampden desired to discourse with me before I presented it; so I was to wait on him on Monday the 26th September, at Eight o'clock."

Whether it were finally presented, does not appear; but we may presume that Mr. Hampden, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, persuaded Papillon to retain office for the time being.

His next Petition for discharge from office was in November, 1694, and ran thus:—

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"To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of their Majesties' Treasury.

"May it please your Lordships,

"I have served their Majesties upwards of five years in the Victualling Office, the pains I have taken, and the hardships and difficulties that I and the Office have been under, your Lordships are not strangers to; I shall only say, as I yesterday told the House of Commons, and am ready to make oath thereof, that during the whole time I have not made one penny profit to myself, beyond what his Majesty hath been pleased to allow me; and of the allowance above the standing Salary there is 2½ years behind at Michaelmas last:

"And being now in the 72nd year of my age, and the infirmities of nature daily growing upon me, and there being no likelihood (as I humbly conceive) to have sufficient provision for carrying on the Service, the difficulties will more and more increase, so that I cannot undergo the fatigue thereof without apparent hazard of ending my days in trouble, which I am unwilling to, and therefore thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordships so much: And humbly pray your Lordships to represent the same to his Majesty, That I may be discharged:

"And this favour I hope his Majesty will be the more inclined to grant me, since there are, as was affirmed in your Lordships' presence, very able Merchants that are ready to undertake the Victualling affair, furnish all in kind, answer all demands, satisfy and discharge all freights and whatever else is required for the Service, as fully as hath been done for these five years last past, and withal go on to pay and clear the debts already contracted in proper course, without any more than 20s. per man per month for this year ensuing. If his Majesty shall please to direct your Lordships to send for those persons, and the affair be so settled as may be to his Majesty's satisfaction, and the King's own advantage, I shall rejoice and end my days in peace, continually praying for their Majesties' lives and success in their affairs, and with all thankfulness to your Lordships' care and regard for the Victualling concern for the time past, in

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supplying the same as far as your Lordships' circumstances would admit; and subscribe myself,

"May it please your Lordships,

"Your Lordships' most obedient humble Servant,

"THO. PAPILLON."

The statement in the House of Commons to which Papillon referred in this Petition was probably that made in his own vindication against a wild charge brought against himself and his son in his absence from the House; and as neither the charge nor the reply are given in Gray's Parliamentary Debates nor in the Minutes of the House of Commons, we will give them as recorded in a M.S. by Papillon. Sir John Parsons, who made the charge, was one of the Victualling Commissioners who were superseded by Papillon and his colleagues. His speech was to this effect:—

"That Mr. Papillon need not complain of the loss of his trade, for that he understood that his son and he made eight, ten, or twelve thousand a year; that when persons came to demand moneys I sent them to my son, and when they came to him, he told them he had not money but Tallies; and then if they would take tallies he would send them to one that would furnish them, and that he had ten or twenty per cent. of all the moneys he paid."

Thomas Papillon's reply:—

"MR. SPEAKER,

"I have so great a veneration for this honourable House wherein all the Commons of England are represented that I cannot but be sensibly affected at any thing that may be spoken here that might any way reflect, or seem to lessen my reputation in this honourable Assembly.

"I have understood that a gentleman was pleased in my absence to make reflection on me with reference to my son, as

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if great profits were made of eight or ten thousand pounds a year by preferring persons in payment—as if great profits were made by me in undue ways. I shall only say, first as to myself, I never made one penny advantage to myself, directly or indirectly, but what his Majesty allows; and as to my son, I have examined him, and do verily believe he never made with his Salary* and all other things whatsoever 12d. in the £100, this is for receiving the same and accounting for it in the Exchequer, which I think is hardly porter's wages; he hath order from the Commissioners from time to time what to pay.

"Sir, had I been told any thing that did reflect on any Member of this House, I should first have acquainted him therewith, and been sure of the truth of the matter before I should have adventured to vent it in this House. I know not what to move, but submit to the pleasure of the House, being willing and desirous that the matter should be strictly examined, and that the Gentleman may produce his Witnesses or acknowledge his mistake.

"Sir Jno. Parsons."

The general prevalence of official corruption at this period may probably have led to these conjectures against Papillon and his son; matters had reached such a pass that in the following year the Speaker of the House of Commons was convicted of receiving a douceur of 1,000 guineas from the City of London for promoting a local Bill, and was consequently superseded; and a former Speaker and a leading Duke narrowly escaped the charge of complicity in the bribery of the old East India Company. †

As regards Papillon's recommendation of Contractors for Victualling the Navy, it appears that in seeking release two and a half years later he condemned such a change.

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* £150 per annum as Cashier of the Victualling Office.

† See Macaulay's "History of England," Chapter XXI.

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"COPY OF MY LETTER TO MR. MONTAGUE. 16th April, 1697.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"I have served the King 7½ years in the Victualling most faithfully and cordially, to the great prejudice of my health, having by the palsy lost the use of writing, besides many other weaknesses and infirmities through the fatigue and burden that hath been on my body and mind; I have not got any thing directly or indirectly but what the King allows, and when I am paid what is behind of his Majesty's allowance to me, I may say had I not been in this service I might have been a better man of estate; I am sure I have done what never any before did. Nothing troubles me so much as what passed yesterday, as that none of the King's Ministers, and your Honour in particular, who knows the service I have done, should speak one word in my vindication. To [words illegible] the Petition and a Committee appointed to examine abuses, and nothing said afterwards (though the very Report saith that the Petitioner proved nothing) seems a tacit aspersion, and I am so sensible of it, that were I in a condition of health (which I am far from) to go on with the Service, I should decline it unless something were done for the just vindication of the Office under the management of myself and the other Commissioners. But my health and abilities failing me, I pray your Honour to move his Majesty to release me, and put some other in my place; possibly Mr. Arnold or Mr. Walters may desire it: Though if I may advise, I think it were best under conduct of the Navy Board, that what share their Office hath of the £——— allotted during war may help towards the Victualling; and I am fully of opinion that it is best for his Majesty to keep it in Commission, and never to admit of a Contract, which may be very pernicious to his Majesty's interest.

"I am, Right Honourable,

"Your Honour's most humble Servant,

"THO. PAPILLON.

"16th April, 1697.

"I hope and pray that whatever becomes of me, care may be taken for the debts of the Office, and particularly of what

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is due to the Labourers and Workmen, many of whom and their families are ready to starve."

"This was delivered to Mr. Montague in the morning; at night, Mr. Agar, Mr. B——gton, myself, and son were at Kensington, delivered a Memorial to the Treasury, which was read before the King, and we kissed the King's hand."

It would seem that this application for release from office met with the usual neglect, for in the November following we find him again petitioning the King as follows:—

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, The humble Petition of Thomas Papillon, one of the Commissioners for Victualling your Majesty's Navy—Sheweth

"That your Petitioner hath served your Majesty eight years in the said employ, and by reason of the greatness of the action exceeding far whatever was in any former time, and that the burden hath lain chiefly on him, he did lay aside all trade and wholly and constantly applied himself to your Majesty's Service therein with indefatigable pains and sincere affection.

"That the fatigue of the said employ together with his age, being now in his 75th year, have brought many bodily infirmities upon him, which render him less capable for service, and it having pleased Almighty God so to bless and succeed your Majesty's endeavours as to make your Majesty the happy instrument of procuring Peace to these Nations and to Europe, he humbly desires if it may stand with your Majesty's good pleasure, to be discharged.

"That your Petitioner hath heard that some things have been intimated to your Majesty against him; what they are he is totally ignorant of.

"That of the allowance your Majesty was graciously pleased to allot him for his Service there remained unassigned to him at Michaelmas last, £1,300.

"That your Petitioner with Sir Josiah Child and others were Contractors for the Victualling of the Navy in anno 1672 and

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1673, the accounts whereof have long lain with the Auditors, but for the want of the settling of some articles, which are depending before the Right Honourable the Lords of your Majesty's Treasury, the said accounts are not yet passed.

"Your Petitioner most humbly prays

"That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct the thorough examination of what hath been or can be alleged against your Petitioner, that your Majesty being fully satisfied of his faithful Service may please to dismiss him from the said employ with such testimony of your Majesty's approval and favour towards him as your Majesty shall find him to have deserved, and that your Majesty will graciously please to order the money behind to be assigned to him.

"That your Majesty will graciously please to direct the Right Honourable the Lords of the Treasury, to cause the former accounts to be settled and adjusted.

"And your Petitioner shall ever pray," &c.

"15th March, 169⅞. A COPY OF MY LETTER TO MR. CHANCELLOR TO DESIRE HIM TO INTREAT HIS MAJESTY TO DISCHARGE ME OF MY EMPLOYMENT.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"I suppose in a little time his Majesty will take into consideration the settling Commissioners in the Senior Offices where they are wanting, and particularly in that relating to the Victualling.

"The Petition I left with your Honour for his Majesty, I hope his Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant. I have served his Majesty now at Lady Day eight years and a half, and am sure there is no Subject that hath served his Majesty with more cordial and hearty affection, and with less regard to his own private concerns, than myself; and I am still, as far as I am able, entirely devoted to his Majesty's interest and Service; but I must acquaint your Honour that by reason of my age, and the fatigue I have undergone, I am so debilitated in body, both by the palsy in my hands and other natural defects, and the gout now returning upon me, which hath made me keep my chamber ever since the 5th instant, that I find myself no way capable,

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nor sufficiently qualified, to perform the post wherein I am, which I humbly intreat your Honour on my behalf to represent to his Majesty on the renewing of the Commission, and that his Majesty would be pleased to leave me out.

"Enclosed I send your Honour the copy of the Petition I sent your Honour the 17th November last, which I hope his Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant. I did hope I might have continued in some reasonable measure of health, but now diseases and infirmities flowing so fast upon me, it is not possible for me to continue in the Service.

"I make no application but to your Honour, not doubting but on your Honour's representation to his Majesty, his Majesty will of his abounding goodness dismiss me the Service, and not require of me what by reason of my bodily infirmities I am utterly unable to perform.

"I am, Right Honourable,

"Your Honour's most obedient Servant,

"THO. PAPILLON."

In most of these Petitions one cannot but remark Papillon's devotion to the King, and this seems to have hindered him from insisting on immediate release from office. As for trusting to Mr. Montague, who had so long neglected his request, it bears the aspect of simplicity; and the tone of several of his Petitions approaches that of his Mother-in-law's letters to his father, when the latter was pleading his suit; she said "No," but meant "Yes."

Final letter to Mr. Montague:—

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"I did intend to have waited upon your Honour, and to have desired your Honour's favour to have introduced me to his Majesty, to have returned his Majesty my hearty thanks for discharging me my present employment, which I am informed this day is settled; but it hath pleased God to deprive me of my dear Wife, with whom I have lived near forty-seven years, so that

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I cannot at present stir abroad, and therefore humbly pray your Honour to make my humble excuse to his Majesty for not attending him. I have been his Majesty's most faithful Subject and Servant, and whilst I live shall ever be so. The bodily infirmities that have lately very much grown upon me, have rendered me less capable of serving his Majesty, and desirous of some ease from the fatigue of the service I was engaged in.

"I doubt not but your Honour hath moved his Majesty in reference to the other particulars that were mentioned in my Petition, and also for what is behind of the allowance his Majesty was graciously pleased to order me; and as soon as I can come abroad with decency I shall wait upon your Honour.

"Right Honourable,

"Your Honour's most humble and obedient Servant,

"THO. PAPILLON.

"London, 12th July, 1698."

Notwithstanding his prospect of immediate release, Papillon had still to wait ten months for the desired boon, as shewn by the following and final appeal to the King:—

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THOMAS PAPILLON, ONE OF YOUR MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS FOR VICTUALLING THE NAVY—SHEWETH

"That your Petitioner hath served your Majesty at Midsummer next nine years and three quarters, and though as he always had, and still continueth to have, a most hearty and entire affection for your Majesty's Service, yet by reason of his age and many bodily infirmities finding himself not so capable for the same,—

"He humbly begs, That he may be dismissed from the said employ with your Majesty's favour, and during the continuance of my life.

"Your Petitioner shall daily pray, &c.,

"THO. PAPILLON.

"Not delivered, but attended on the King, on Friday, the 26th May, 1699."

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Thus ended the public career of Thomas Papillon; the energy of his youth and manhood had departed; he had lost his dearly beloved Wife, and in the peace and affection of his family, relying on the grace and favour of God, Whom he had served—he had only to await the mighty change which is our common lot.

Throughout life he had striven earnestly in each position he had occupied, maintaining a single eye towards God and his neighbour, and leaving in his course a striking example of industry and integrity. As a Merchant, he had acquired a competency, unblemished in repute; as a Public Servant, he had been faithful and zealous; in Politics, both civil and religious, while loyal to his Sovereign, he had warmly supported the rights of the Subject, and thus promoted those now enjoyed; in the matter of the Popish Plot, in his opposition to Chancellor Montague's successful scheme for the relief of the Exchequer, and in his advocacy of the ruinous one of Life Annuities for that of the Mercer's Company in 1698 (see Return of the Company to the City Companies Commissioners, page 13) he was not in advance of his times. But in all his dealings he acted openly and honestly. The good he did, survived him; the evil, who shall judge?

As a parting relic of Papillon's political views, we subjoin an autograph memorandum, which was evidently written a few years after the accession of William III.:—

"The Kingdom of England is made up of Papists and Protestants.

"The Protestants are divided, and of late years distinguished by the name of Tories and Whigs.

"Under the name of Tories is comprehended all those that cry up the Church of England in opposition to the Churches of Christ in foreign parts, that press the forms and ceremonies more than the Doctrines of the Church, which are sound and

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Scriptural; and that either in their own practice are Swearers, Drunkards, or loose in their Conversation, or do allow of and are unwilling such should be punished, but give them all countenance, provided they stickle for the forms and ceremonies, and rail against and endeavour to discountenance all those that are otherwise minded.

"Under the name of Whigs is comprehended most of the sober and religious persons of the Church of England that sincerely embrace the Doctrines of the Church, and put no such stress on the forms and ceremonies, but look on them as human institutions, and not as the Essentials of Religion, and are willing that there might be a Reformation to take away offence, and that desire that all Swearing, Drunkenness, and Ungodliness should be discountenanced and punished, and do own the foreign Protestant Churches as Churches of Christ, and hold communion with them:—As also all dissenters of the several persuasions are included under this title.

"The Papists have made it their work to set these two parties one against the other, first by setting the Tories in power and countenancing them to persecute and oppress the Whigs, both Churchmen and Dissenters, that by these cruelties they might be the more willing to comply with the Papists, to obtain the ease and liberty which the Papists promised them: And then drawing such of them as were not aware of their designs to fall in to countenance the practices of King James the Second's time, and to upon the Magistracy contrary to Law—by which this Kingdom was almost brought to ruin, and Popery near an Establishment.

"It pleased God to stir up the heart of the King, then Prince of Orange, to come at the hazard of his person to redeem the Nation from Thraldom and Popery, wherein God wonderfully appeared in giving success, and prospering him in the undertaking, to work our deliverance.

"It was hoped that after so great a mercy all distinctions among Protestants should have been laid aside, and that all persons should have gone under the name of Protestant or Papist.

"The King at first did employ Protestants of various persuasions, and when the Militia, or Lieutenancy of London, came to be

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settled there were many Tories put in, as well as Whigs; and by the King it was moved to the Commons to remove some things that caused the distinction and maintained animosities, but that did not take effect answerable.

"There can be nothing more certain than that fomenting divisions amongst Protestants, and dividing them into two parties, will give great advantage to the Papists.

"And nothing can more tend to this than when the Government shall countenance and encourage one party in contradistinction to the other.

"They would suggest that the Whigs are inclined to a Commonwealth, than which nothing can be more false as to the general; the Monarchy of England is without doubt the best Government in the world in its Constitution, and when rightly administered, the safest; and the nature of the people is such as will not bear a Commonwealth. When it was in that way, how soon and how easily did it revert.

"It is also suggested that they would totally abolish Episcopacy. This may be said of some Dissenters, but cannot be said of those called Whigs in general; for this action will best agree with a moderate Episcopacy; and when such are in place as promote true Religion and piety, the Church will flourish and the Clergy will be reverenced. But when the Essentials of Religion are not upheld and countenanced, to wit Truth in doctrine, and holiness of conversation, but the stress is laid on forms and ceremonies, and all stigmatized and suppressed that come not fully up to them, however good and godly soever, and others only preferred how vicious and debauched soever, this will bring a disparagement on the Episcopal Government, and especially if the Bishops shall interest themselves so far in Civil affairs as to interpose their Ecclesiastical power to over-rule the votes of the people in the choice of their Representatives.

"There is no such way to preserve this Kingdom against the common enemy, to wit France and Rome, as that the Government do effectually take care to suppress all Sabbath profanation, and all Drunkenness, Swearing, and Debauchery, and indifferently to countenance and prefer to places of honour or profit such only as are Protestants of sober and honest conversation, of whatsoever persuasion they be."

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CHAPTER XIV.

ILLNESS—DEATH—BURIAL—WILL.

Journal of severe illness at Acrise, from 30th January to 10th March, 1701, expressive of his sufferings, feelings, &c.—Death in London on 5th May, 1702—Burial at Acrise—Concourse to meet the funeral *cortege* at Broughton Hill, near Sittingbourne, and another on Barham Downs—Will—various bequests—to Christ's Hospital; to the Mercer's Company; to the Poor of St. Katherine Coleman, Fenchurch Street; to the Poor of the French Church in London; and to his Servants—Papillon's systematic benevolence—Legacy to Corporation of Dover for Apprenticing Sons of Freemen—In 1703 the Mercers' Company place a portrait of Papillon in their Hall—Epitaph by Mr. Justice George Hardinge, cir. 1806.

"THE ruling passion strong in death" may be aptly applied to Thomas Papillon during a severe illness which he had in the early part of 1701—rather more than a year prior to his death. It lasted from the 30th January to the 10th March; and a daily journal, apparently kept by one of his family, enables us to record to some extent his sufferings and his feelings. The glamour of the world had passed away, and while careful to use means tending to recovery, we find him specially set on the use of the ordinary means of grace; and willing to depart hence, should God see fit to remove him. The love and fear of God were fully present in this season, as throughout his life.

The illness occurred at Acrise, and the writer well remembers the down-stairs room to which the patient was removed when well enough; its use, however, had fallen in his day, to that of a vestibule for great coats, hats, &c.

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We believe that a few extracts from the Journal will best describe the sufferer's position and frame of mind:—

"An Account of Thomas Papillon, Esquire, his Illness beginning the 30th January, $170\frac{0}{1}$.

"30th, Thursday.—On Thursday, the 30th January, $170\frac{0}{1}$, he complained much of pains in his right shoulder, slept very ill that night, and was very uneasy all the day.

"31st.—On Friday morning, about two or three o'clock, his pains increased, and other pains seized his neck and side, so that he was unable to help himself or turn in his bed. When he arose in the morning he found himself full of pains all over, accompanied with great shiverings.

"1st February.—On Saturday his pains were chiefly in his left side and shoulder, and so continued together with shiverings all that day; he was very dozy and much inclined to sleep. At night he had very little rest, groaning and sighing often.

"2nd February.—On Sunday morning he endeavoured to rise about eight o'clock, but through pains and faintness was wholly unable. He lay till 'most five in the afternoon, when he was taken up; he dozed and slept much, continually fetching deep sighs; did not care to speak to any one, and so continued all that day. . . . . At night he endeavoured to perform family prayer, but through great infirmity in his head was mighty disordered. Soon after, he was put to bed, &c.

"3rd, Monday.—On Monday morning he was carried into the White Room; he could bear a little upon his feet; his pains were somewhat abated, and he slept in his chair, apparently more comfortably. At night he performed family prayer very well. On the whole he was much revived.

"8th February.—On Saturday morning he arose between nine and ten. He was very dozy that day, spoke but very little, and ate very little dinner. In the afternoon he slept much, and when he awoke could not be persuaded but that he was in bed, and asked why they left his feet out; and how it came that Mr. P. Papillon arose so early.

"He arose between seven and eight, and called for beer; was very faint, and generally so in the morning. After his clothes

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were put on he lay down again upon the bed for about one hour; that morning he took a pipe of tobacco, and went to prayer soon after; performed it very well. When he understood it was Sabbath Day, he could hardly be persuaded to stay within, but would have gone out to Church, and was prevented only because the chair-man could not be found to carry him. When most of the family had gone to Church, he caused the 96th Psalm to be read and sung with him. He hath lately had many shaking fits of the palsy all over him. Mr. Calandrini preached at home in the afternoon. He held up pretty well, and took a pipe with Mr. Calandrini after sermon. Took three eggs.

"10th, Monday.—On Monday morning he arose about eight o'clock, and was carried into the White Room. He seemed to be much better. He performed family prayer very well. He ate a pretty good dinner; was not dozy, but more cheery and revived; he talked pretty freely with his Children, &c., who came to see him. At night he performed family prayer very well.

"11th February.—On Tuesday morning he was brought down stairs, but was much worse than the day before. Would perform family prayer himself, but his distemper having much affected his head, he did it very disorderly, using many repetitions, &c. About ten, he was carried up to his chamber; he was mighty sore, and full of pain all over, especially in his arms and legs; he had a very restless night; would have been turned several times, but cried out mightily if any one touched him. He prayed often while in bed, and was understood to say, 'Lord, have mercy upon me, and ease my pains,' and 'O Lord, prepare my heart to serve Thee, and give me a spirit of prayer.'

"14th February, Friday.—He arose between seven and eight, and complained of pains all over him, but especially in his legs. Was brought down into the White Room, where he performed family prayer indifferently well. He talked much of going to Church the next Lord's Day; with great difficulty was got upstairs, and with as much more into bed; was mighty fretful; he had very ill rest all the night.

"16th, Sunday.—He arose about eight o'clock; did perform family prayer, but very disorderly, using many repetitions. Would fain have gone to Church; called for his clothes and sent for

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the chairmen but they could not be found, on which he ordered his coach to be got ready, saying none should keep him at home that day as they had done the Sunday before: His Children, &c., finding him so very unfit to go out—it not only being likely to prove dangerous to him, but a great reflection on themselves to agree to such a thing—they were forced to use all arguments possible to hinder it, and at last prevailed: As soon as the family were gone to Church, except those who tended him, himself repeated the 116th Psalm, and they sung together with him; but soon after, he forgot he had been at prayer—his distemper had so affected his head.

"21st, Friday.—He arose about eight o'clock; drank some broth, and sometime after, a glass of wormwood wine. Performed the duty of prayer extraordinary well, his head being very clear. Called in the assistance of another Doctor, himself clearly and distinctly acquainting them with the reasons. Complained of twitchings in the foot and back. Dr. Harris, Dr. Woodward, and Dr. Havers, after a long consultation, ordered several things for him. The plaisters were ordered to be taken off his feet. He had this day some little shivering all over. At dinner he ate some fowl with pretty good appetite, and drank a glass of wine, and beer. Had an indifferent night's rest.

"23rd, Sunday.—He arose between seven and eight, drank his broth and bitter wine, took chocolate, smoked, and ate an indifferent dinner. Went to Church morning and afternoon. Had an indifferent night's rest.

"26th, Wednesday.—He arose about ten; took several things; was pretty cheery; performed family duty very well. Ate very little dinner; was laid on the bed about two, and slept very well till between seven and eight. Had a shaking fit at noon. Performed family prayer at night very well; was put to bed about ten. Had a pretty good night.

"28th, Friday.—Arose about nine; smoked a pipe; performed family duty very well. Was very uneasy through faintness, and desired very much to die, if it pleased God; was put on his bed, thinking he might be more easy; but he was not, and therefore was taken off again. Continued praying to God, if he thought fit, to take him out of the world; spake often of his assurance in God's favour.

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"1st March, Saturday.—He arose at seven, and was seemingly pretty cheery; walked into Mr. Philip Papillon's chamber; was much tired; had a shaking fit in the chamber, which continued some time; after his return to his own chamber the fit went off, and he was pretty cheery again. Performed family duty very well. Ate a little dinner. Bore up without sleep all this day. Rested pretty well at night.

"2nd March, Sunday.—Arose about seven, much refreshed; was carried into the White Room; smoked his pipe, and ate the same things as usual when in health; performed family duty very well. Went to the Sacrament in his chair, and continued in it all the time; bore up very well. Ate an indifferent dinner. Went to Church again in the afternoon; came out of his chair, and sat in his pew; was somewhat weary when he got home; yet he held out the day very well. Was in his closet about two hours. Performed family prayer twice; at night very well.

"3rd March, Monday.—Lay in bed till past ten, when he arose, and took his pipe; and soon after he called the family together, and performed family prayer very well. He slept a little in his chair; ate a pretty good dinner; was pretty hearty, and very clear in his understanding.

"9th March, Sunday.—Arose between six and seven, and was pretty hearty. Was at Church twice this day; held up finely; slept indifferently well at night.

"10th March, Monday.—Arose between seven and eight; was brought into the White Room, being finely recovered; got no hurt by going out yesterday; is very hearty, and as capable to do business as he hath been for a twelvemonth, had he strength in his limbs to walk."

No further record remains of the life of Thomas Papillon. The following is extant of his death and burial:—

"He died (in London) on the 5th May, 1702.

"He had expressly forbidden any funeral sermon, but the family not seeing company till after the burial, they had sermons in the house by those whom he usually heard, Mr. Lewis, who lived

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in the house at Acrise, and was then Rector of the Parish, Mr. O. Hughes, of Canterbury, an old disciple, and Mr. W.

"He was carried out of Town and buried at Acrise on the 21st May; and though none were invited to his burial, yet his own Children, and Grandchildren, attended him with twelve coaches to Greenwich, when only four continued the journey, designing it to be private; but on Broughton Hill they are met by a number of horse, and some gentlemen's coaches, and conducted to Canterbury; the next day the same company attended with them, and at Barham Downs they were met by a greater from Dover.

"Above three hundred rings were distributed, and nearly as many pairs of gloves; and five shillings a piece were sent to all the Freemen of Dover.

"As so great a company was not expected, though there were plenty of provisions for their necessary refreshment at Acrise, yet great confusion could not be avoided; and this probably made his Son give such positive orders in his Will to be buried in the most private manner.

"He left his Son sole Executor. Besides his legacies to his Children he left to Christ's Hospital £100; to the Mercers' Company £1,000, with a recommendation to them in these words, 'that in case it should fall out in the providence of God that any person or persons lineally descended from me shall hereafter come to be in want, that they do afford him, her, or them such charitable relief as they shall in their judgment find convenient.'

"To the Poor of his Parish of St. Katherine Coleman, London, £50; to the Poor of the French Church in London £100; and to their Ministers, £25 each. Also legacies to all his Servants, and to his Son, &c.

"From his first setting out in life he appropriated one tenth of all his income to the poor, and kept a distinct account of it in his books. At his decease 'that account was £789 os. 8d. credit, which was faithfully distributed by his Executor."

Another bequest worthy of record is that of £400, to be invested in land, of which the annual proceeds were to

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be expended by the Corporation of Dover in the Apprenticeship of lads belonging to the Borough, their selection to be approved by his heirs:—The property is now let for £100 a year, and the nett revenue is duly appropriated.

In 1703 the Worshipful the Mercers' Company placed a portrait of Thomas Papillon in their Dining Hall, and there it remained till the recent enlargement and alteration of their premises, when it was removed to another room.

In closing these Memoirs, the writer would mention the assistance he has derived from a printed copy of Thomas Papillon's speeches in Parliament, made by the late Justice George Hardinge, who had access to the documents forming the basis of this book in 1805-6, and greatly admired the character of the departed: He wrote the following Epitaph on his life and character.—

"If public virtue can a race adorn,
What child of Howard is more nobly born,
Than he that for his ancestor can boast
A judge impartial* though at freedom's cost?
A merchant that in wealth by commerce wrought
Was never guilty of a selfish thought!
A pious victim of the chastening rod,
Stern to himself, but humble to his God:
Firm, though opposed, against the tyrant man,
To hearts that bled the good Samaritan:
A moralist, the champion of his trust,
Friend of the good, and parent of the just.
These are the birthrights, these demand the care,
And are the jewels of his fortune's heir.
But reader! thou hast claims upon the mine,
For thou canst make the generous heirloom thine:
Religion of these treasures was the key;
Be a good Christian, and it's held by thee."

* In allusion to the Acquittal of the Earl of Shaftesbury.

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JANE BROADNAX,

Wife of THOMAS PAPILLON, *of London.*

BORN 16th MARCH, 1627. DIED 12th JULY, 1698

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APPENDIX.

SELECTION FROM LETTERS OF JANE PAPILLON—1667-8.

Selection of Letters of Jane Papillon—with some from her Daughter Elizabeth Papillon, afterwards Wife of Edward Ward. Esq., eventually Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer; and one from A. M. Papillon, her Mother-in-law.

THOSE of 1667 were written from London while her Husband, to whom she writes in every case, was at Breda, as one of a Deputation from the East India Company, in order to watch the negociations in progress there for a Treaty of Peace with Holland; the Company desiring to recover from the Dutch the Island of Polerone, near Java, which the latter had taken from them during the war still waging.

"May 31st, 1667.

"MY DEAREST,

"Thine from Breda of the 24th instant I have received, which as I read methought I apprehended something of the refreshing nature of showers from heaven on the thirsty ground, and I must tell thee it led me further—even to the fountain—where it fixed me in love and praise.

"All that God has done for thee my soul rejoices in; and I hope in faithfulness I may say, I love Him for the large manifestations of His love to thee, and indwelling in thee; this is a truth, that the joy I receive in contemplating the goodness of God to thy soul is not by me to be expressed. I was, at the reading of thine, as a vessel full, I err not if I say, ready to burst for want of vent; but without flattery I now know how to drop

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some praises. Oh! that they were more proportionable to my mercies in thee! Surely, I have now sensed that thing of weeping for joy. What a privilege is my relation to thee, owned, and loved, and delighted in by God; and what an argument to plead with God—Thy servant, as well as the son of thy handmaid.

"My soul magnifies the Lord that has loved thee and commanded thy love, that has emptied thee of self and filled thee with Himself, that has enamoured thee with His beauty, united thee to Himself, and caused thee to choose that portion that can never be taken from thee. He loved first; from that springs the sound and distinct knowledge thou hast of God and thy Saviour, and the Spirit in its operations; His love has begotten thy love, and that high value thou hast for Him in all His offices. Oh, how admirable is that love that fixed thine eyes upon God, that so thou mayest be guided by His eye and made conformable to Him, in affection, will, and practice. My God in blessing thus bless thee, and render thee eminently serviceable to Himself, and make thy conversation splendid in the crooked and perverse generation in which we live. It has been much on my heart to ask this boon for thee, that men seeing thy good works might glorify our Father which is in Heaven. Self-denial will much help in that duty; that grace shall certainly be sealed to thee, since thou pressest so hard after it.

"I might by experience say something of the difficulty of self-denial and taking up the cross, but I shall decline it; and beg to share in thy prayers on that account; and bless the Lord that has given thee those graces and endowments that have occasioned me to try my strength, or rather find my impotency, in this duty. I hope the language of my heart is, My God improve thee for Himself, and enable me to resist repinings, and to grow in praise for that mercy.

"That I am thine does in my own heart beget a pity for thee, but is to myself the greatest blessing next to union with Christ. Oh, what was I, and who am I, that God should love me, and make thee to do so; not only the one, but the other makes me admire the freeness of the Donor. I must say I never read, nor see, nor any way sense thy love, but it leads me to the admiration of that rich mercy that gave thee to me as a special help and

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guide in the way to my Father's house, where I verily believe we shall be fellow-heirs, however we must be separated here. Truly, at our parting, and so still, I could not, nor yet cannot, but entertain thoughts that our personal enjoyment of each other in this life will again, some way or another, be interrupted; but how I know not, nor am I without hope that God will be better to me than my fears.

"I please myself in the thought that God has yet more work for thee to do; yet I beg thou wouldest in duty be tenderly careful of thyself. I often muse upon my own uselessness, and slothfulness, and how just it may be with God to take the talents of liberty and time from me. Again, I reflect and consider how little I have improved thee, and how deservedly I may be scattered from thee. Truly, I find my spirit so stupid, as makes me fear some awakening judgment does attend me: Our God, the God of power, pluck me out of my sloth, and empower me to work while it is day, for I cannot but think the night is near.

"The last obliging and heart-endearing letter I value more than ever I did what the world accounts a jewel; I will assuredly deck myself with it as an ornament; and owning thy worth as from my God, it shall be my glory; and yet I trust it shall not hinder my prayers that God may from time to time supply and furnish thee with grace according to thy desire and need; for I do not only intend to spread it before God in my daily praises, but also to improve it as a help in my constant supplications.

"I thank thee for accepting my love to, and care of thine, and also minding me it was a duty I owed to God, that so serving this end I might with the more confidence look for His reward in blessing my endeavour for their souls' good. Truly, hitherto I may say I have done nothing, either considering my false heart and bias, or considering them; for there is no appearance of what I have done for them. Betty retains her wildness still, and Philly does not much advance for want of pronunciation; Sarah, I fear, will be a dull girl, like the Mother; but yet I will not doubt but however God shall deal with me, thou wilt find some reason to continue thy tender love to every one of them: They all joy exceedingly in the kisses you send them; and 'Does Father remember me?' 'and me,' they all say. Ann Mary is well.

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"The reason I wrote not to thee of Brother Abraham last time was because he wrote himself at large to thee; for it is a truth I have had a full game of visitants in one day, and once more, all persons give and command handsome respects; they have all endeared me by condoling thy absence: I have received them as friends, but they have much prevented me in the retirement that I would have chosen. I think all the Kentish acquaintance except Brockman have been with me; but I have not had any invite abroad from any person but those of Littleworth Castle, and that was to dinner last Friday; but when we went at one o'clock, the market having proved dear that day, none of them were at home, which Mother took very ill, and Betty said she never thought fit to fill her belly there. We have been in sight of them since, but they never thought it deserved an apology. Our dear Mother Broadnax is still frequent in her enquiries after thee, and longings to hear of thee, for thou art her joy.

"There continues all good compliment between our young men; and I hope thy business is well minded, although again I see something of loss to be communicated. Our God bless both loss and gain to us; many have lost much more since we parted; the Lord make us faithful stewards of what remains; we have much. I have let Nat understand what you said of him in yours to me, and I hope he will endeavour to answer your desire; he has not sat at table with us ever since thy going from us.

"My dear, I am ashamed that I am still offering occasions of expence to thee, but having taken a full view of my household linen, I find the coarse diapers very thin, and especially that which was made last; it has done little service, so that I conceive it may turn to advantage to bring home a little parcel with thee; for it is much more serviceable than the French, and we must have some recruit of one or other. All the towels are worn to rags also, but I freely submit to thy dispose in it. A little cheese also, for thy own eating, I should be glad of.

"Truly, I have answered thy desire in order to Betty's letter, and have not helped her in the least, only thus:—She has at several times writ four copies by herself to see how I liked them, and I have liked something pretty well in every one of them, which I perceive she has observed, and so gathered some particular

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of every one of them into one, which, while she did, she shut herself alone in the laundry room, and indeed lost her dinner about it; I have had much ado to get a sight of it myself. Poor rogue, she could be all day employed for you, if she thought she could do or say anything worth your acceptance, but she is too sensible of her own defects. Afford her thy prayers that she may rather be humbled than discouraged by it; and it shall be well.

"For all affairs of trade I refer thee, for I would not give thee double trouble. The greatest fault I find is that their letters to thee are so late I cannot always have time to read them; but I hope we shall find out some way to help that.

"We have not yet ended with Mr. Lewknor;* his own occasions have prevented. I find myself every day better satisfied in this particular. I have promised myself in a month after thy return to see it, God not forbidding; my brother judges it very necessary. There have been some overtures made to him, I think it is of the Manor of Mount's Court;† but he thought it not wisdom to see me desirous of it; yet he will be watchful that it may not go to any one else. Coals at present are £1 15s. so that if they fall no lower, I shall rather desire to make the best improvements of what I have, than to buy more, without your advice further.

"This is what at present, and too much to trouble thee with, unless of more importance. Excuse my blots, impertinences, and broken expressions, and give me leave to conclude in prayer that God would pour a double portion of gifts and graces on thee, and render thee capable of the highest service for his praise; and. I entreat thine for me, that I may also receive what may make me useful in my station to God's praise and thy comfort, to whom I must ever desire that God would make me a blessing, for I am thine in the truth of love.

"JANE PAPILLON."

Enclosure from Elizabeth Papillon, daughter of the above, then nearly nine years old; afterwards wife of

* Of whom Acrise Place had been purchased in 1666.

† A property contiguous to Acrise place, on the North side, which was afterwards furnished.

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Edward Ward, Esq., Barrister, who subsequently became Attorney-General and Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer; ancestors on one side of the Ward-Hunt family.

"HONOURED AND DEAR FATHER,

"I have been very glad to hear of your safe arrival at Breda, but I must needs tell you I thought it very long before the news came. My hope is that God, that has preserved you hitherto, will preserve you to the end, and give His angels charge over you to keep you in all your ways.

"You have been pleased to give me leave to write to you before you went away; and since, you have given me further encouragement by your last letter to my dear Mother, but I must confess I have been backward to it, because I know these lines deserve not your precious time to read them. Our dear Mother is as a Father and Mother both, to us; I think as much as any Mother can be in the world; but yet I am sure I find great want of your company. All the talk at London is that we shall have no peace; but if not, I shall a thousand times repent that ever I knew what it was to part with you into Holland: And pray, Sir, let me beg your prayers that I may be fit for peace; for I am much troubled to think of that place, 'there is no peace to the wicked;' and I am sure I am very wicked, for I am very neglectful of my duties both to God and man, and do not delight in His service as I have done.

"My Brother and Sister are in health, and wish they could write to you as well as I, though it is in a pitiful manner; but I hope you will accept of it, being I do it in obedience to your command, for I am according to my little power,

"Your most affectionate and dutiful Daughter,

"ELIZABETH PAPILLON."

"June 7th (1667).

"MY DEAREST,

"Since I have reflected by a second thought on my last to thee, I find cause to beg pardon for the unreasonable length of it.

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I know thy goodness will frame better arguments for my excuse than I can offer.

"Since that, I have received two from thee bearing date 6th and 10th of May, for which accept my hearty thanks, and know I esteem them very endearing. May I never think of thee, nor them, without a heart raised in praise to God. The enclosed was seasonable and sweet to me [illegible] it with thy prayers, that so in gratitude to God and thee I may follow the advice of it; and particularly my soul desires the grace of faith and prayer, both in exercise on behalf of the Church of God, and also in regard of my own deadness.

"I confess God's past mercies to His Church, this City, and my own family dwell much on my heart to my encouragement; I can say the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping: But my dear, I know I want a praying frame: Pity me: Oh, how unlike am I to holy David, as I discern in the 6th, 7th, and 8th Psalms; and also to that spirit he expresses in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 28th Psalms.

"I hope our young men still approve themselves well in the business; I discern nothing but well. Our Mother is in good health.

"Friends in Kent are affectionately mindful of thee, especially our dear Mother. Last post, Betty sent thee a letter, but will yet blush when she thinks of the blot in it: Poor heart, she wants thy prayers that God would deliver her from her trifling frame of spirit, and give her some composure of mind.

"We have now ended with Mr. Lewknor.

"It is my very great obligement that thou desirest not to retard thy return to me; but sure it would be wisdom to see relations and correspondents now thou art so near them, provided thou goest not out of protection and endangerest thyself; all that the whole world could yield as a present to me would not be so acceptable as that kindness thy letters bear witness of to her that is every way obliged both to be and to subscribe herself thine in the truth of love.

"JANE PAPILLON."

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"June 21st (1667).

"My Dear and Blessing,

"I am easily persuaded I shall sooner receive a pardon from thee than from myself, that I writ thee not last week. Since that I have received one from thee of the 14th. Thou art never wanting to me. All thine to me bring glad tidings, as they report thy health, and confirm me in the credit of thy constant affection; and so they command my thanks to God. But let God have my highest praises that thou lovest Him, and as the hart panteth after Him, and those well-springs that are in Him, that God has bespoken thy love, that thou hast closed with His command, that the match is made between Him and thy soul, that thou so lovest Him as not to be contented without a conformity to His likeness; that He has made thee sensible of thy short-comings towards Him, and watchful and industrious to approve thyself to Him, and to give check to whatever may be unworthy in thyself: Go on, and prosper my dear love; and let the Spirit of my God flow forth into thy heart, and also influence thy life. Let that good Spirit be still to thee a well of water springing up into eternal life. God has never dealt me blessing with a scanty hand; I will trust Him; and as His to thee has been by me registered as mercy to myself, so shall it ever be: And be assured that on thy behalf I judge myself obliged to delight in the Lord, and to call upon His Name for the perfecting of Grace in thee. The good thoughts thou hast of me show me what I ought to be, and what I am, and engage my desire to be what thou thinkest me, and so to approve myself to God and thee. I am convinced of my own guilt in not weighing the providences and the Word of God, and that my defect herein causes my barrenness: Help me by thy prayers to redeem time. The 37th of Ezekiel has been a quickening word to me this morning, both in relation to general and particular.

"I perceive thy desires bend very much homeward. I have still omitted to speak of the sense I had of my own unhappiness in thy absence, because I would not occasion thee to be less cheerful in that service thou hast engaged to; but I am sure I have a witness in myself, I did not mind my own but the things of others, when I parted with thee; and I have experienced

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something of self-denial and the cross in this particular. Oh, that I may learn the more fully to follow Christ. Our longings to meet again are mutual; yet since troubles arise, and are daily like to arise more high with us—I desire the Lord may dispose thee for the best for safety, though it should retard our meeting; for I can be happy at a distance, if that be best for thee.

"I shall refer thee to Mr. Harrison for the account of our present state; I have no other way to inform myself but by him: This only will I say, the spirits and behaviour of men now seem much to answer what it was in the Fire time.

"I hear from Kent that force is sent to Dover to prevent the French landing there. I am sensible that God is angry, and we have deserved this overflowing scourge, this torrent of misery: Oh, that my heart may be more and more affected with it, and that God would speak to the heart of our King in this day of trouble. We are now divided into two languages. There is no help for him in God: And there is no help but in God; our help standeth in Him. Our God governs the whole world; it is He that rules the earth; it is He that said He will subdue all his enemies under his feet; and whatever his enemies may think, He will shew Himself a God in the earth. Let us hope; for redemption draweth nigh; man's extremity is God's opportunity; when help faileth both on the right hand and the left, God will shew Himself. The more impotent we are, the more will God's grace and power be magnified. I apprehend great trials and temptations, but if the Lord will be with us in the water, and if the Lord will be with us in the fire, it shall be well: And He has said, 'I will not leave thee, nor forsake thee.' Oh, that God would yet manifest His presence in poor England and London by pouring out a spirit of prayer and faith and patience upon His saints in it: For sure, the Church of God shall see vengeance repaid; the enemies of it must perish; Anti-Christ must fall; and I may fall before the actual accomplishment of it, but by faith I see it and rejoice. Our God quicken us to every duty, and particularly that of praying for our King. Oh, that he may be as a fire-brand plucked from the fire! Surely this is the season wherein we ought to lift up our prayers for him; his heart is in God's hand. That word has lately been brought to my remembrance, Daniel

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9th chapter, 12th, 13th, 14th verses. Oh, that God would set it home on every heart concerned! I discern thy thoughts run out much on that subject. Blessed be God.

"My Betty begs me to return her thanks for your kind letter, and entreats your prayers that she may follow the good counsel of it. Poor child, she stands in need of prayer. Lately she desired to spend some time with me in my closet, and begged of me with tears that I would pray to God for her that she might be of a considering spirit; for, says she, I find that rashness is the great occasion of all evils that I am apt to. So I went to pray with her; but poor heart, she fell asleep instead of praying. Poor heart, her defects, I am sure, represent my own to my view, and give me a quick sense of the corruption of my nature.

"Philly intreats me to remember his love to thee; blessed be God, there is not much of corruption yet appears in him: he drinks to me every meal, and remembers his father. Sarah is well, and loses not her gravity: They are not without their fears and contrivances when they hear the guns and drums, and see the soldiers. The Lord pity them, and be their safety. To think that God has chambers and rocks, and wings and hand, to hide His with and in, is a cordial indeed in this day of danger, and that bread shall be sure. Our God be all to us and ours; and let me ever bless God that he has given me peace in lodging my interest and concerns with Him.

"I cannot conclude without taking notice of thy kindness to my relations as well as to myself; that design of love that thou hast toward them, I am sensible of my obligement to thee and thine on that account. All friends in Kent are in health, and cordial in their desires of thy welfare. Our Mother with me plies the throne of grace on thy behalf. Poor sister Fawkner filled with care for thee. Abraham writes me that there are several Land-Waiters that search all the waggons that come from them, so that he shall not dare to send anything till better advice. This is all at present from thine and endeared,

"JANE PAPILLON."

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"July 5th (1667).

"My Dear,

"Thine of the — instant confirms thy affection to me. The Lord help me to approve myself to Him, whereof to be judged by thee. I should not doubt of approbation, and this I prize as a great mercy, yet would not take up with it; and I can say I do eye God's goodness in it; it is He that has persuaded thee so well of me; it is He that has given our hearts to each other; praise to Him, I hope I may say in subordination, and the sweetness we taste in the stream makes us thirst, and sends us to the fountain. The sense thou hast of thy own needs of the prayers of friends I hope will prompt thee to consider mine: Truly I am dull to every duty. I hope thy love to me may not hinder thy prayer for me; for I am ascertained thou thinkest much better of me than I am. I ill know how to plead with God for myself; oh, the averseness that I find in myself to meditation and prayer, both in respect to the word and providences of God: My own wants, and the condition of the Church and Nation—notwithstanding I look upon all in a distressed state—I do believe God will get Himself a Name; and I do grieve I can be no more importunate with Him for it; but my help even for this standeth in Him: Oh, for the time when the heathen shall fear the Name of the Lord, and all the kings of the earth His glory, and the Lord shall build up Zion, and appear in His glory. We are now indeed in a horrible pit, and miry clay; the Lord order our goings; the Lord be Surety for His servants for good. In my retirement, God lately fastened that Word on me, Isaiah xxix.; methought it was the condition of this poor Nation; and together with this Word, that of Ezekiel xiv., 22, 25, was brought to my view.

"They say for certain that 1,200 Dutch are landed amongst us, and that they have taken Mersey Island and the Block-house, being six miles off from Colchester, and that they are in the attempt to take Landguard Fort. We here have little expectation of peace. The King, as it is reported, sent for the Lord Mayor on Wednesday, and charged him to silence all speech of a peace, as much as in him lay. Brass guns, and carts with wheelbarrows go by our house this day, well guarded; but we know not wherefore.

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The Papists did retire into the country about a fortnight since, but are now returned. Again, we daily take some endeavouring to fire more houses; methinks that God prevents it, is a ground for us to hope.

"I have a promise from the Committee that their letters shall be for your dismission, if the Ambassador will consent, which is much as they can do; they all judge it reason. The Lord Bartlett came out to me, and bade me assure you he had not been wanting wherein he could serve you; they all think your desire reasonable. I am sure thou wilt be more welcome at home than ever thou hast been in Holland: But must 'the Ambassadors of peace return weeping?'

"The Children receive thy kisses and blessing with tears; Betty is very much affected with thy affection to her; Philly will have nothing but his love returned; the other little ones are well.

"My suffering is augmented in thy absence, because the Company can be no gainers by it. I am much pleased with their resolution concerning trade. I hear you are well spoken of for your carriage in order to peace.

"Mr. Dodson sent me a pen this afternoon, and entreats you to accept of his and his Wife's good wishes. All thy servants prize their relation to thee. All goes well and orderly with our young men. We all long to hear how satisfying Mr. Danyell's company is to thee. Mr. Church is your obliging friend; the other has promised me news before I seal.

"The Duke of Albermarle has been with the East India Company, to borrow money; they promise an answer to-morrow, and in order to that have called a General Court; it is generally apprehended they will grant.

"Excuse my matter and manner, both; for indeed my head is so ill disposed that nothing but writing to thee could have kept me from my bed.

"From her that is less than the least of His mercies, much less this of being thine, and thine every imaginable endeared,

"JANE PAPILLON."

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Letters of Jane Papillon written from Acrise to her Husband who remained in London:—

"April 23rd (1668).

"My Dear and Blessing,

"Through the great goodness of God we arrived safely at Acrise between two and three of the clock. We had as pleasant a journey as possible, leaving thee behind us; only the poor mare was sick and lame, his horse went so hard; on which account I was forced to hire another for him, but brought that with us, hoping we might here make it serviceable, since we had leave to keep it, and can find a way to convey it home without charge.

"I find all in a most confounded condition; not the least done to the best garden; and just begun a little to fit up the grass of the Court.

"I am certain thou wilt still find a residence in my heart, and free entertainment there, but I fear I shall not find time to write to thee next week.

"We drew our curtains close, and came through Canterbury: Cousin Jenkins parted at Sir Basil Dixwell's house for Dover. My Mother salutes thee; all thy Children present thy duties, and are unsatisfied in their new house. I may not omit the Mayor's requests; I am glad he is with us. Thus abruptly I must take leave of thee, to whom I am all ways imaginable obliged to subscribe myself thine beyond expression endeared,

"Jane Papillon."

"April 26th (1668).

"My Dear and Blessing,

"Our thoughts in general, and my own in particular have so much wrought on thee since our being here, that I am a little impatient until I may hear from thee. I have this day a little time beyond my expectation, and cannot improve it more desirably than in converse with thee. Through the goodness of God, I can tell thee we all continue in health; but more than that, I have no good news to send thee; for all things are terribly in disorder. Goody Mugall within a month of her time. They

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say the woods have taken up his time; for nothing has been done to the Court, but a little turf laid on, in one of the grass plots, and it lies in gaps I may lay my thumb in, and is as bare as the causeway, the grass having died for want of watering; so that must be taken up again, and fresh laid: It has never been washed till this day—I mean mowed—and it has been the whole day's work, because his scythe was so bad: He is very dropsical, and I doubt not will have a sore leg, occasioned by an old surfeit and sprains. The best garden has not had the least done to it; much of the wood lies about it, which might have been cut and housed: And I am told that Foster, the old wood-reef has stole at least a load of what was lopped off the trees; so that I see Mugall is a sorry guard. The fence of the kitchen garden, I perceive, has cost £13, and is but as a stile, so low that any person may get over it; only a little patch ploughed up in it, to spare the pains of digging; and that is sown with beans and peas. But I perceive the design was laid to go on slowly with the gardens and court, and so to manage them as to maintain a cow on them: this cow was brought down this morning, but I sent it back again.

"I conceive the house has not been anything like well-aired; but the beds have—my tenant Rainer's servants having lain on them. Mr. Foster tells me, on examination, he has indeed found Mugall very slack.

"I perceive the oats are like to prove a very bad crop: the Mayor and I have thoughts to have it sowed with clover grass, which will not at all make the oats already sown to prove the worse; only we fear we shall not get seed.

"I have a great desire to turf my best garden while I am here; but I know not how it may be in order to Sir Basil Dixwell, whether or no leave must be asked of him. Mr. Foster says that your own interest will bear you out, and that if it will not, all the neighbourhood have been trespassers from time to time. Sir Basil is now at London, and Sir Henry Oxenden; I could wish thou wouldest understand how it is as soon as possible, that so we might have the pleasure of it. I suppose Sir Henry Oxenden can give you a perfect account of it; for I would not willingly ask for what is my own, nor yet trespass on another's right.

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"My tenant Dene could not bear it, that a Dover waggon should bring my goods, and has done two days' work in one to prevent it. Our goods arrived on Saturday night, and this morning very early; Dene and Grainger are gone for them, and Stow also, to see them loaded, and so to take them out of the ship and put them into the carts; and what they want of two loads they are to make up with deal boards, after the rate of £10 and £7 a hundred; I suppose I shall not have 20 in all; and without them I know not what to do, for I cannot get bench, or stool, or table, for any use I want,—nor an old press, or any such thing. The Mayor went on Saturday to choose out the deals; I find that if I had trusted to Mr. S. for them, I must have paid more. The Mayor is indeed extraordinarily useful to me, and Mr. Foster very civil. I have found no neighbour yet but he and Dene: I have not yet heard of Mr. Moket; he was not come to Canterbury on Friday night. Mr. Jenkins, I think, will spend the next Sabbath with us.

"I suppose the Mayor will write thee, thinking I cannot. We earnestly desire a clock; we cannot live comfortably without the tubs also; and the two Turkey-work chairs in Mr. Kendal's closet and chamber.

"I prithee write a letter of thanks to the Mayor; I wish heartily thou couldest serve him in anything in London, so as that we might continue him with us, for he is truly useful, and it is very necessary I should have him a month or six weeks longer if I could. As to Stow, he may do well, I hope, but as yet I can give thee little account of him; what I have employed him in, of business, I like well enough. Rainer, on my request, lent Mugall a garret, and says he has the use of it at present.

"The barns want thatching very much; he says he will do it, but I see no straw. The pigeon house is quite destroyed, they mended it with nothing but dirt and such things; and it scented so that the pigeons left the nests upon it: And all goes at such rates; but I will trouble thee no further at present, only to assure thee I will be as careful, and faithful, and frugal a steward to thee as lies in my power; and I doubt not of thy kind acceptance of it.

"The poor Children are exceedingly disappointed in their

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expectation, and poor Els also; they wonder you would buy so ugly a house.

"I have seen none of our Canterbury or Godmersham friends, but both have sent to me. I enclose our Mother's. I have written to every one of them, and sent thy letter to Sir William, but as yet no answer.

"I believe Canterbury will be the best way of sending letters, for I have a neighbour goes constantly twice a week thither: I find Dover a dear market, and shall have little occasion to send thither.

"We hear of great troubles in Ireland, and also that the Hyde is wounded by discontented persons, in two or three places.

"The carts are now come home; yet I must not conclude without the Children's duties and my Mother's love. We all want thee, and I am endeared and on all accounts most obliged and cordially affectionated,

"JANE PAPILLON."

"My love to Mr. Kendall and Kitt; I must not forget Elizabeth: Whenever you have occasion, let my neighbour Jackson know I love him; and express me to my neighbour Swinock, that I took not leave of him."

"May 5th (1668).

"MY DEAREST,

"Thine are cordials to me: I have received thine, both of the 27th and 30th April; the latter came to me the same day the post came; there are few days I hear not from Canterbury. Cousin Jenkins preached to us on Friday, and left us on Saturday about twelve of the clock; and the Mayor accompanied him to Godmersham, with a purpose to return the same night, or very early on Monday; but it is now eight on Tuesday, and I have not heard of him, which does a little trouble me, not only for his own sake, but because I entreated him to bring something from Mother for me, which I should be concerned to lose. I am in a great hurry, having divers at work, and none

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but myself this morning to regard them. I find it is sad employing workmen here; the best carpenter which is in the country, they say, was a whole day planing a block for a dresser, and setting legs to it. They do indeed vex me. I had two fellows to saw and clean wood two days, and one of them three, and I think I might easily have burnt it all in the time. The wood cut for my own burning is yet in the wood, but to be fetched home this day and to-morrow: and many more vexations I could impart, but why should I add to thy trouble, for I am sensible it is enough. My God be thy counsel and safety, and I hope He will not be angry with me for saying, may He guard and show kindness to thy person, though He should try us in our Estate; for thou art dearer to me than all under God Himself: let me therefore oblige thee to take care of thy person above all.

"I thank thee for communicating what thou hast to me, for indeed I want quickening to the great duty of faith and prayer; truly, when I consider myself I do expect a change; the Lord help me to justify Him however He shall deal with me; and if He shall please to continue mercy. Oh, that my life may speak the high praises of my God, for I am less than the least of His mercies. I would fain fetch counsel for thee from the Wisest, from the Wonderful Counsellor; for I am sensible of my own short sight, and inability to offer any worthy thy acceptance; but sure, I can be content with thy disposes however they succeed; for I know He will make good His Word of being near to thee, of leading and guiding thee, of giving wisdom liberally to thee, of making all work together for the best to thee.

"I thank thee for thy offer of more money, and for the freedom thou givest me; I shall endeavour not to abuse it, and truly I am troubled to put thee to so much cost as I must; but I think the chief of it will be in carriage, which the Tenants will deduct. Yet if I had £10 or £20 by me, I would not be prodigal of it.

"I prithee let me hear of thee so often as thou canst, and write me what news thou mayest; for thy letters will be longed for by her that is with thee at a great distance, and desires ever to approve her being thine most affectionate,

"JANE PAPILLON."

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"May 14th (1668).

"My Dear,

"Receive my thanks for thine of the 7th May, and thy good acceptance of mine before it. I share with thee in all thy troubles, and desire to live in admiration of that goodness of God, that gives souls leave to meet and be useful to each other, whose bodies must be separate. Oh, what cause to live and speak well of our God: Yea, and to trust Him so long as we live.

"As concerning Stow, sure thou hast done for the best. Our neighbours and I are generally in good compliment again, we having discoursed together, and they promising never to offend so again.

"I desire to know how the Mayor's business does go. I find myself more unsettled this week, and less likely to settle.

"I have this day sent to my sister Turner, to buy me three loads of Paris (I mean three bushels), and if it be not to be had, to write to thee, which if she does, I prythee let it be sent from London with all the speed it can.

"Brother and sister Turner were here on Monday, and fetched away Nell, notwithstanding all importunity: They also brought a cake and gossiping; could not be persuaded to stay all night. Squire Brockman also dined with me. I think I wrote thee last time that Squire Oxenden was to see me last week.

"I find our tenant Rainer daily in a worse condition, and selling off to pay others; yesterday 40 sheep; offers his horse for sale; has no corn in the barn, has not yet ploughed for wheat, according to his agreement; cannot be persuaded to make over his stock to thee for security: He fears being arrested every day; I suppose people are more hasty on him for our being here: Yesterday, he told Mr. Foster how he valued his Estate, which valuation I enclose; and also how Mr. Foster values the corn on the ground, as if it were harvested; we are to consider the reaping and binding will cost £13 or £14, besides the carriage off to the barn. Rainer says if you will take your farm he is ready to leave it, and the goods shall be prized by two indifferent men; which, if it should need, I should think John Fern might be a fit person for us to choose. Rainer confesses he owes £50. He has £30 a year in land, but there is £200 debt on it, and he holds it at twenty years'

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purchase, and 'tis like there may be more judgment upon it. He hath promised to plough for wheat next week, which he calls making his summer land. Prythee advise what we shall do, and whose advice shall be asked on this business; the Mayor is not willing to undertake it alone, without counsel: He thinks it necessary for me to receive something from you, fully to empower me to act for you in the matter.

"The Mayor is most obligingly friendly and useful; I wish heartily it may be in thy way to be serviceable to him in any thing, but particularly if it might be to bring him into the Company's service; but let not this expression of mine lessen his kindness, for I never found he had such a hope from us, but I doubt not but such a thing will be more pleasing to him than what I wrote of last week; and I hope this week to receive a very particular account from thee, that so he may be satisfied: His business is not neglected while he so studiously minds mine.

"This week has been the fair at Elham, and it has debauched all the workmen, so that I cannot despatch any thing, but am rather worse off than I was last week.

"I bless the Lord we are all in health: Your son drinks to me every meal, and remembers his father, in which trick myself and all the rest find pleasure; there is no contest among them but who shall and does love thee best. I must insert their particular duties, our Mother's love, and Mr. Moket's and his wife's. I hope his messenger will bring me a letter from thee. My love to those that remembered me in thine; I can say no more at present, but that I am thine in the strictest tie of affection,

"JANE PAPILLON.

"N.B.—We very much want a bell, to call the family together. It should have an excellent sound."

"May 25th (1668).

"MY DEAR,

"Last Saturday night made me exceeding joyful after a melancholy week, for I then received three of thine, of the 14th

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and 21st May, which had not sooner met a messenger to convey them, because every day with us proved so wet that none were willing to stir out that would keep within.

"Now let me tell thee, my dear heart, that the love of God in thy preservation, and His sanctifying it to thee, is an endearing mercy to my soul. I thank thee for communicating those choice truths to me in that of the 14th; oh, that God should make me strong in grace by the power of His might, and that He would teach me that Divine skill to improve and draw forth the mighty power that is in Him, to strengthen me in grace. Our Minister has lately spoken to us of the sudden, mighty, and irresistible workings of the Spirit of God; and I desire thankfully to record that it has been a means to quicken faith in me, and to engage me in the duty of prayer. In the general, we have a very dull ministry; but I bless the Lord I have cause to bless Him; He meets me in His Ordinance. Both Floate and Moket are dull, but, blessed be God, they preach the truth; and I find that God speaks to me by them; let Him have the glory; I am sensible I am less than the least of His mercies. I find we are not only one flesh, but one soul, in the consideration of which I can truly say I love the Lord; and be thou assured that I cannot forget thee and that holy desire of thy soul, while I remember myself: But pray for me that I may pray for thee and myself.

"That thou desirest to see me, I take a secret content in, for how little so ever I can merit from thee, yet I greatly covet still to be esteemed by thee; I am sure thou wilt never come before thou art desired; but I could wish to know a day or two before I see thee; for indeed I have not yet hung a curtain about a bed, by reason of mending the ceilings—which might long since have been done, but that the workmen come for a day or half a day, and leave me for a week—which has been so vexatious that I every day contrive to bear with what is, rather than to have more to do with them when they have finished what is begun.

"I begin now to pick a little salad and parsley out of my garden. I have begun to level my best garden, that so I might have the advantage of that rich mould to mix with dung, for the advantage of my other garden; so that thou wilt find confusion in both, when thou comest.

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"I have received the Paris, but cannot get it wrought out. As to Rainer, since thou leavest the business so much to me, I resolve to do nothing before thy coming, unless I find he attempt to sell his horses: for I reckon the longer it is before we come to agreement, the better judgment may be given of the corn. I find Foster a little too much biassed to his country neighbours.

"The Mayor indeed continues very useful and obliging; but we join in that I would not have him at any loss on our account: I think he will go to London this week about his business; but I perceive he accounts the cost three score pounds, and he could wish if it might be to delay a little, rather than to be hasty to part with such a sum of money in this nick of time. I perceive the other employment would be much more grateful to him, although the salary be small: I think he need not fear but to rise when he is employed by ingenuous persons; and I believe thou wouldest never repent of recommending him to the place.

"The Children have all most joyfully received thy kind remembrance of them. Betty is very much confounded in herself that she has not prevented you by a letter; but indeed we have been very busy since we came; but I hope another week will settle us; and when we come to ourselves, thou mayest challenge more from us: At present, she has never a little corner to herself. I am yet forced to lie with my Mother, and the Maid and three Children in a bed: the weather has favoured us. I cannot get one simple bedstead made, since I have been in the country; yet if thou canst spare thy time, thou mayest receive some satisfaction with us; I am sure we shall with thee. Philly begins to take delight in his book, and grows spirited; he has a pretty play-fellow in one of Mr. Floate's sons. When I read your commendations to Betty, she was sensible she did not deserve such a father; Philly melted into tears; Sarah thanked God she had such a father; Ann Mary smiled, and leaped, and kissed me again. Blessed be God, she thrives very well. She loved me very fondly the first week or two, but afterwards she discovered that her Grandmother and Mr. Moket were fond of her, and cockling, and moaning of her, and that her Grandmother often found fault that her humour was not more observed, and took her part whenever I chode the child—she grew not to value me

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in the least, but rather contemned me—so that I was forced to say that if I might not have the government of my Children alone, I would wholly give her up to her Grandmother's; so for two or three days I never found the least fault in her, nor seemed to instruct her in any thing as I did the rest; and my Mother, seeing the inconveniency of it, desired it might not be so, but that I would do by her as the rest, and she would leave her wholly to my discretion; since which the child becomes very obliging and tractable: She has great understanding, and when she saw her Grandmother took her part against me, she walked in defiance of me, and scowled and turned her back upon me when I came in her way. Now, I bless God we have no wrinkle awry amongst us: you need take no notice of this. The air agrees very well with her.

"My Mother Broadnax writes to me every week, and very affectionately. I think she may be here within three weeks. I would willingly have gone to her for a day before; but I lay aside the thought, because I cannot have a coach from Canterbury to Acrise, and go thither, under 40s. I like mighty well to be confined to home.

"I prythee return Mr. Dodson my thanks for his kind remembrance of me. I have yet heard nothing of the arrival of the goods Mr. Matson sent me the 20th, and two dozen of China oranges for a token from his Wife.

"We have been forced to part with poor Nell Turner; and in a pretty, obliging manner the Child parted, and desired her service presented to thee, and that we would pray for her though she was gone from us.

"I take notice of thy hope that I will send for no more things, and truly, my dear, it has been with regret that I must, or that I have sent for so much; but truly I knew not how to order it better. Assure thyself I will not be prodigal, nor am I unsensible of thy care and hazards, nor of thy loss; but it troubles me to think how little I am able to improve this loss.

"Excuse my long scrawl; for methinks I am talking with thee, and very loth to conclude; yet I must only say I am thine in all endeared affection,

"JANE PAPILLON.

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"The Maids are very sensible of your favour to them. My love to Nat, and Mr. Kendall, and Elizabeth. The Mayor presents his service and thanks to you. Mr. Moket and his Wife his; Mr. Floate and his Wife. Mr. Foster, Ben, and Oldfield have each of them brought me a little money, which I will not waste."

Letter from Elizabeth Papillon ("Betty") afterwards Wife of Edward Ward, Esq., &c., to her father, Thomas Papillon from Acrise, when nearly ten years old:—

"June 1st (1668).

"My Honoured and Dear Father,

"I should long ere this have presented you with a letter, but I was unwilling to trouble you with my impertinences, knowing it would not be worth carriage; but now having received your commands, I desire to present you my duty in giving you an account that I found nothing wanting in this country air but your good company, which would make it a paradise to me; and without which no place can be pleasant; and I do the more desire your company, because I know the times are dangerous: But God has promised that nothing shall hurt His people; no weapon formed against His shall prosper: And though the times be bad, yet all shall work together for the good of His: Now I desire to build faith upon His promised Word, and to believe that God who hath preserved us hitherto, will preserve us to the end, and bring us together again. This is the desire of her that is,

"Your most affectionate and dutiful Daughter,

"Elizabeth Papillon.

"My Brother and Sisters desire to present their duty to yourself."

Another letter from Elizabeth Papillon to her father, written from Acrise in August, 1668:—

"Honoured Sir, and my Dear Father,

"Since you have given me the freedom, and expressed yourself best pleased when I improve the liberty you have given me of

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writing to you, I cannot but tell you that your sudden departure hath much afflicted me, insomuch that it hath put me upon thoughts of the uncertain time I have to enjoy my best mercy. Oh, therefore that God would give me wisdom to improve you while I may, that so I may not provoke Him to snatch you from me for ever. But truly, Sir, I have a very bad heart, and that makes me to have a very unprofitable life, I am sinsible, both to my dear Mother and to yourself; and it also makes me wonder that God continues in any measure your affections to me, for it were just with God to punish my iniquity with extinguishing your loves, but He is pleased to punish me less than my deserts. I do often conceive grief when I apprehend your kindness to me, and especially my dear Mother's; but I must acknowledge myself less than the least of all the favour you are both pleased to continue to me. For my sins of Sabbath-breaking, my sins against convictions and resolutions and reproofs, and corrections and exhortations, and my trifling frame of spirit, and mis-spending the precious talent of time, and slighting the Word and Ordinances of God—any one of them had been sufficient to have justified God in making you and making my dear Mother to have shut me out of your affections, but God has been better to me than my deserts, and I hope I shall love Him for it as long as I live, and strive wherein I have done amiss to do so no more: And I beg your prayers that God would enable me to keep close to my resolutions of better obedience, and particularly that He would give me the spirit of supplication, that so I may daily fetch strength from Him to maintain the conflict against my own corruptions, and in the end to overcome them, and eternally praise God through Jesus Christ for giving me the victory: And pray, Sir, do not love me less for my infirmities, but exercise your compassion towards me, and pray for me according to my wants—for I would fain prove myself well pleasing to God and yourself—for I am by both obliged to be your most respectful and dutiful Child,

"ELIZABETH PAPILLON."

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"October 1st (1668).

"My most endearing Dear,

"Receive my hearty thanks for thy readiness to satisfy me of thy safe arrival, for which mercy my heart joins with thee in praise: I confess that when Mugall told me that you went alone, my heart sank within me, and a strange stupidity settled on me, which is not yet quite off. I have been full of fears for thee. Blessed be God that He has been better to me than my fears. Oh, that I could give thanks.

"It has been very much on my heart to consider that word of our Saviour's, 'Let nothing be lost.' No, not the crumbs of the meanest creatures. What cause have I then to reflect and condemn myself that lose the richest mercies, the whole mercies, and do not gather them up, and endeavour the improvement of them: Ah, I abhor myself for my ingratitude: Strive with the Lord for a thankful heart for me: Surely I would despise neither the command, nor the Giver of it: That God, that has wrought the will in me, work also the deed; its Thy prerogative to effect the grace, as well as to command it; Lord, say Amen to the desire of my soul; Thou hast laden me with mercies; fill me with praise; render me comely by that grace.

"My dear, I do unfeignedly long to be with thee, but as yet do not see how to effect it till the very end of this month. I shall do my utmost to hasten it. Prythee let me know how thy occasions will order, whether or no thou mayest have thoughts of seeing Acrise again, or meeting at our Inn, whether it be Gravesend or Sittingbourne. I hope thy house will look a little better upon thee than it did: Our cistern is almost up, and our roof began; and some other small occasions I hope will be accommodated.

"I have been fain to have fifty pounds of Mr. Stoke, because of buying seed, and for Goody Rainer and Mr. Floate. We have many men at work for this short time I shall be here, so that I durst not send for less; to-morrow, I must send for a load of deal; we are now going about our gutters, I would fain see them done.

"I am sorry the business succeeds not in respect of the Mayor; prythee if it should not, think of some way else for him.

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"All thy Children joyed to hear from thee. I shall make a return of the respects of those remembered in thine; but I can say no more, only I am thine entirely affectionated in the Lord Christ,

"JANE PAPILLON."

Letter from A. M. Papillon, Wife of David Papillon to a Servant left at Papillon Hall, Lubenham:—

"LOVING FRIEND,

"I am sorry to hear there should be any differences between you and Goody Ryland; she ought to be contented, if it be my Husband's pleasure rather to entrust you with the key of the house; he is at liberty to dispose of it as he pleaseth. Concerning the key of the box, she having my linens to wash, I bade her lay them up in the box, and take the key; not because I mistrusted you, but I would not have her think I mistrusted her. I pray you tell her that she should let me know if I owe her any thing; I will pay her to the full. I hope before this time my Husband is come thither; and I much long to hear from him how it is with all your family.

"Remember my love to your husband, your daughters, and son; remember me also to John and Alice Ryland; and I pray you let there not be any misunderstanding between you, to break love; for I desire to love you both. Thus committing you to the protection of the Almighty, I rest,

"Your affectionate Friend,

"A. M. PAPILLON.

"From London, the 1st of November."

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NARRATIVE OF POMPEO DEODATI.

"A NARRATION MADE BY ME, POMPEO DEODATI, OF MY LIFE AND OF THE SEVERAL FAVOURS RECEIVED OF THE LORD JESUS, WRITTEN AS WELL FOR MY OWN USE AS FOR MY CHILDREN :—

"Nicholas, my father, son of Alexander Deodati, was born at Lucca A.D. 1511. He was a merchant, and dwelt for some years in Antwerp, and lived prudently and honourably. He was married A.D. 1540, to Mrs. Elizabeth, daughter of Giorolamo Arnolfini, my mother, who brought me into the world the 14th of August, 1542, and my brother Nicholas in October, 1544, while my father was sick of a violent fever, and died two days after, thus leaving my mother, then only twenty-one years old.

"The Lord had given my father grace some years before he died to know the true religion, by means of Mr. Peter Martyr Vermiglio, who at that time was Prior of St. Ferdiano, and who preached the truth very freely at Lucca, which did so work upon my father that he resolved to depart from Lucca with all his family. He often acquainted my mother with his purpose, but at that time she did not like it; but within a little time after, the Lord was gracious to her also, giving her the knowledge of the same truth by means of an Augustine Friar, to whom she went (as usual) to confession. Though he did not know her, instead of confessing her, he instructed her fully in the principal articles of the true religion, exhorting her to detest all Popery and its evils; and she received his teaching with such zeal that she resolved as far as in her lay to escape from so great an abomination, and to withdraw to Geneva: But this being very difficult to accomplish, owing to her youth and lack of aid, she lived twenty-two years in this resolution, under great horrors of conscience and much danger, refraining as much as she could from idolatry: And her intentions being known to many she informed her sister Mrs. Magdalen Calandrini, and her brother-in-law Mr. Benedict Calandrini; and found both of them inclining the same way, though foreseeing many difficulties in

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its accomplishment. Every year my mother was much troubled with a complaint which often brought her to death's door; and her father and mother often urged her again to marry; but she always refused, hoping the Lord would shew her the way to remove thence: And to that end, being moved by Mr. Benedict Calandrini to marry his brother Julian, she condescended to do so; nevertheless, the numerous difficulties of removal did not lessen, but rather increased every day.

"It fell out that in 1562 I resolved to wait upon the Lord Alexander Bonvisi, sent by the State of Lucca as Ambassador to the Duke of Savoy, which was my first excursion, and a happy one for me. At my departure my mother charged me to make haste home, for she was about to leave on account of the Religion. I did what I could to put this out of her head, having then no such thoughts, though from our childhood she had instructed my brother and myself in the true Religion, and I knew it very well, and approved of it, but not with such fervent zeal as to forsake my country and the temporal blessings the Lord had bestowed upon me. I had till then spent my time partly at school, and partly in trading, the Lord having in His mercy preserved me from the dangers and corruptions into which youth were so apt to fall in those parts. For curiosity-sake I went from Piedmont to Lyons, whither God's providence had directed my steps, to make me partaker of a great treasure, which I was not seeking.

"It came to pass within a fortnight of my arrival at Lyons, that those of the Reformed Religion there adopted it, and having quite cast out all idolatry, they established the true Religion, whereby I had occasion to learn how much I was indebted to God for the knowledge he had given me: I attended the preaching, and by the Grace of God the seed which had hitherto lain hidden and fruitless within me began to take root, so far that I resolved henceforward to free myself from the yoke of Anti-Christ, and to dedicate myself wholly to the pure service of God; and by His help I have never since done any thing contrary to this holy resolution, notwithstanding the dangers and trials it has involved; and for this the praise is due wholly to God, having been incapable in myself of the least resolution,

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or execution of that which His Grace enabled me to perform: Wherein I do acknowledge that I am extremely obliged to Him, and do beseech Him to give me Grace to render Him a true and faithful account of the talent He hath given me; as I do trust He will.

"I then resolved to come hither to Geneva; which greatly comforted my mother; and she charged me to return to Lucca, to help her to escape—an undertaking to which my love for her alone engaged me, foreseeing the many trials and dangers I should encounter in consequence of my public profession of the Religion at Lyons.

"I went to Lucca in October, 1562, and told them of our resolution to be gone with the Calandrini; and we all agreed to effect it, and to help each other: But it was a difficult matter for the Calandrini, for the mother of Mr. Benedict was yet alive, and unable to stir; besides they desired to sell their lands; and thus we could not accomplish it for four years: Meanwhile, I was chiefly at Lucca, in great danger and perplexity, owing to the opposition of my nearest relatives, and on account of my young brother, lest he should be left there alone.

"In order not to be at Lucca at Easter, when every one is obliged to communicate to that Abomination, I went in 1563 to Venice, in 1564 to Lyons, and in 1565 to Geneva; and that at much risk, for I made an open profession, being unwilling that any should think I consented to idolatry; but the Lord did most miraculously preserve me.

"We advised my brother Nicholas to marry, and he did so with Mrs. Julia, daughter of Mr. Benedict Bonvisi; and I resolved to take Laura, daughter of Mr. Julian Calandrini: But as I would not be subject to idolatry I could not marry at Lucca, though much urged to do so; and by not consenting I placed Laura and her friends in danger of being detained there; for my engagement to her was publicly known, and our espousal recognized. At last, seeing I could put it off no longer, I went away in March, 1566, it being arranged that my mother should follow me with my Bride within six months. I found much comfort in my departure, and resolved never to return, though I was leaving my native country and many objects dear to

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me—being fully convinced that we should ere long be banished from it, and persecuted; as it came to pass: But I was glad to be free from so hard a bondage, the torments of which none can express.

"My mother and our friends much feared the sale of their estates would be hindered, for most of our kindred were averse to her departure, and every one knew the cause of mine: But the Lord did miraculously open the way, so that notwithstanding all difficulties my mother and my wife came away in the following September, accompanied by Mr. Benedict Calandrini and my brother Nicholas; and I went with them from Lyons to Paris. Our parting from Nicholas was very trying; he requesting my mother with many entreaties, to stay one year more with him at Lucca, till he had instructed his wife better in governing her house, for she was then very young; and other snares were laid to detain her, and prevent her leaving at all; but the Lord strengthened her, so that in spite of all temptations she came away with us.

"Mr. Benedict and Mr. Michael Burlamachi came also with their families in the following March, without any hindrance; and we all gave thanks to God for bringing us safely to His Church.

"I had purposed that we should have all come directly to Geneva; but at the persuasion of our friends, who thought it would facilitate our escape and defer our prosecution from those at Lucca—we resolved to purchase Lusarches, a castle and plot of ground about seven miles from Paris, whither we all repaired: And my mother was married to Mr. Julian Calandrini as promised some years before.

"In June, 1567, we were all cited to appear in person at Lucca, on pain of being banished. This was the beginning of the persecution wherewith the Lord did honour us to bear His banner, and to suffer for His Name: And none appearing, we were all condemned to death, our goods were confiscated, and a prohibition was laid on all at Lucca to speak to us, or have any communication with us whatsoever; our names, with various extracts from the Decree of Banishment, &c., were hung up in the Court of Chancery; and within some five years the sum of

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300 crowns was set upon our heads, to be paid to him that should kill any of us in France, Spain, Italy, or Flanders; thus they used the utmost rigour against us, as is usually done in the most criminal causes. But while banished from our earthly country, we became Citizens of Heaven.

"Not long after we were all settled at Lusarches, the French Religious Wars again broke out: The Prince of Condé lay at St. Denis, and about the 10th November the battle of that place was fought; many were slain on both sides, and three days afterwards the Prince went away with those of our side towards Brie; and lest we should suffer from the other party we resolved to leave Lusarches with our families, and follow his army, not knowing whither: Our departure was so sudden that we could make but few arrangements, so that our house was plundered of its comfortable furniture; and having no acquaintances in the army, we were much suspected, were often in want of food, once were robbed of some of our silk, which however we recovered at considerable cost—and incurred dangers which were very trying to our women, especially to my wife and her sister, who were both with child: But the Lord, Who ever guarded us, led the Prince to send his wife to Orleans with all who were not disposed to follow him; he having resolved to march towards Lorraine, to meet some auxiliaries from Germany. We determined to follow the Princess and her party, and after many hazards we reached Montargis, and sent to Madame of Ferrara, owner of the place, for leave to stay there, which she very courteously granted, though she had refused the privilege to the rest of our company. It was indeed refreshing to receive the attentions both of the Duchess and her Court; and after some weeks, an order reaching her Highness from the King to send away all those of the Religion, she was obliged to do so in regard of some, but she took us to her own Castle, where my wife was delivered of a son; but the birth being premature, the infant died within six hours.

"We remained at the Château till June, 1568, when a Treaty of Peace was made, and my father-in-law and myself with our wives returned to Lusarches, and the rest of our party to Paris. We were not long at rest, however, for in January, 1569, the

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Wars again broke out; and feeling ourselves very insecure, we resolved to go to Sedan, which we did in August, 1569, and were very courteously received there by the Duchess of Bouillon on letters of recommendation from her husband, who was then at Court: They were both of the reformed Religion, and during the persecutions in France they entertained at Sedan many of their refugee brethren.

"Before long the rest of our party joined us, and we lived together in peace and security. My daughter Judith was born there on the 14th May, 1570.

"All this time we kept Lusarches on our hands, and lost much on its farm, and by robbery of our goods; but it was no small comfort to us at Sedan and Montargis to meet many Protestants, and to hear many sermons, while at Lusarches we could hear but few, and even then with danger.

"Peace being again restored, we returned to Lusarches in October, 1570, and remained there till the Massacre; always in more or less danger. My wife was delivered of a son on 24th March, 1572, but he died within twenty-two days.

"The King of Navarre's wedding was kept at Paris in August, 1572, and I went there with my wife; but on the Admiral (Coligny) being wounded, we returned to Lusarches on the 23rd, the day before that horrid Massacre of so many Protestants of all ranks. The next day, I sent my man-servant to Paris to ascertain what was going on; he was a Papist, and his wife was in the City, and hearing of the Massacre he resolved to go in, and return to us no more; but the Lord, who would make use of him to bring us word, caused the gates to be shut against him. We were at supper when he brought us the sad news, bitter indeed to us on account of our many friends of quality who had fallen, and for the danger in which it involved us personally; for our town was full of angry and cruel persecutors of the Religion; and though we had done all we could to pacify them, they eagerly desired our death; for having stolen many of our goods, they feared we might some day prosecute them. Our Minister, Mr. Capello, was with us that evening, and after he had prayed to God to have pity on us, and direct us what to do, we resolved to be off again to

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Sedan that very night, much fearing that our neighbours would murder us as soon as they should learn what had happened in Paris: And the Lord miraculously saved us on this occasion also; for strange to say, none of our town's folk heard of the Massacre till the following day, though we were only seven miles distant, on a much-frequented road. We prepared to start as soon as the people should have retired to rest, but they were dancing in the street till close on midnight: Then we went, taking little with us but what was on our backs; all that we left behind, household stuff, provisions, great store of cattle, and many things of value were plundered the next day by the enraged mob, who eagerly searched for ourselves to kill us, and cursed the day of our escape.

"As many on the road knew the cause of our departure, and threatened us, we went to [illegible], and there met the Duchess of Bouillon, on her way from Paris to Sedan, in as great or greater fear, than ourselves: She kindly took us into her company, and by God's mercy we reached Sedan in safety, without in any way compromising our Religion, though often urged to do so—for instance to put a white cross on our hats, as many of our company did, as if they were Papists; but God be thanked, we did it not.

"On reaching Sedan we barely obtained admission the Governor refusing it to all who were fleeing for Religion's sake; but the Duchess prevailed with him on our behalf, with a proviso that we should not stir out of doors for many days.

"At first we were told that all our friends in Paris had been killed, which grieved us very much; but afterwards we learned that by the good providence of God they had all miraculously escaped. Michael Burlamachi's three children had been sent to the Duke of Guise, who kept them for some time in his house; and the others were taken in by Monsieur de Bouillon, and they stayed with him for some months, often in much danger, and urged to attend Mass as the only way of saving their lives; but the Lord did strengthen them all, so that neither there nor at the Duke of Guise's, did the least child give way to temptation.

"At last, they all came to Sedan, in company with the Duc

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de Bouillon, and it was a very great comfort to us all to be together again in health and safety: but we had sustained great losses, not only at Lusarches, but in much money that I had laid out there, which was all lost. However, the Lord dealt very graciously with us, in comparison with many of our brethren; and in all our flights it was a great comfort to us to hear the Word of God abundantly preached.

"On the 13th June, 1573, my daughter Susanna was born at Sedan; and though my wife and infant were very ill, the Lord preserved them, and in August I took my wife to Spa for a time.

"In the following December, Mr. Julian Calandrini died: Ever since he married my mother we had lived together in one household.

"In June, 1574, I returned to Spa, and took my family with me, having resolved to go thence to Geneva, which I had all along desired, and feeling that God had afflicted us in France because we had not gone thither in the first instance, as I purposed.

"We remained at Spa all the summer, in order to drink the waters, and we then went to [illegible], where we remained all the winter, and enjoyed the free exercise of our religion.

"We left Spa on the 3rd April, 1575, and were in much danger of being wrecked on the Rhine, but by God's mercy we arrived here on the 5th May; and it was a great comfort to us, after so many storms and trials, to find so many of our kindred and countrymen, and many other blessings that the Lord hath granted us, with the hope that we may now have some rest, without any more of the wanderings wherewith He hath visited us, though amidst all He hath not failed to watch over us, and to make all to work together for good.

"On the 11th May, 1576, my son Elias was born: Through his mother's indisposition he was put to several nurses, and became very ill, but the Lord graciously restored him, and he has been well ever since.

"In May, 1578, I had a violent fever; and the Plague was then raging at Geneva, as it did for several years before and after; but the Lord in His mercy delivered me from my sickness.

"On the 4th March, 1579, my son Deodati was born.

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"In the summer I went into France to try to recover some of the large amounts due to me at Lusarches; but I had little success, and was in much danger, my debtors threatening to kill me, as was often done to those of the Religion, but the Lord preserved me.

"On the 24th April, 1580, the Lord was pleased to lay a heavy affliction upon me, in taking away my dear wife Laura: She was sick two weeks with shortness of breath, and evinced much faith and piety. She had been a great help to me in all my troubles.

"It pleased the Lord to leave to me my mother, who aided me much in ordering my family after my wife's death; but on the 14th December, 1582, she also died, after a fever of two weeks' duration: She departed with her full understanding; well comforted, and assured of her salvation.

"This second loss was a great blow, leaving me with four children, and destitute of two such dear and valuable companions; but the Lord never abandoned me; in all my trials He upheld me by His Grace, so that I could recognize His aid in all my needs.

"In 1581, at my mother's suggestion, I had bought the land at Sacconet, and within a few months I built a house there; but she could not enjoy it, for the year following the Duke of Savoy sent an army under Monsieur de Racconis, intending to surprise Geneva; and failing in that they remained in the neighbourhood several months, and kept us in much apprehension till April, 1589, when war against the Duke was openly declared. The City was driven to this by his continual plots and hostile devices. The war lasted for several years, and the City and surrounding country suffered very much, the Duke coming near the walls with his numerous army, while we were left to our own defence.

"By the Duke's order the Manor of Glex was burned; and the inhabitants were subjected to barbarous cruelties. In order to starve us out the Duke caused a fort to be built at Versoy, and when it was completed and garrisoned we found ourselves reduced to such extremities that we resolved to attempt its surprise; and the Lord helping us we did so with a force of

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four hundred men, slaying many of the defenders, and razing the work. This gave us rest for some time, but before long my house at Sacconet was burnt down, and all my horses and cattle were carried off. Many of the rural population had fled into the City for protection, and it was pitiable to witness their distress; but much liberality was shewn to them by various people of means.

"During the first year of the war we sent our wives and children to Basle. In 1591 I went thither. On the 6th August I gave my daughter Sarah in marriage to Nicholas Balbani, and we returned to Geneva about a month afterwards.

"I had no thoughts of marrying again, but I was led to do so for various reasons; and in this, as in other matters, the Lord's hand was with me; for contrary to the frequent experience in such cases, great unanimity prevailed in our family.

"In January, 1592, I bestowed my daughter Judith on Mr. Fabricio Burlamachi, who by God's grace had left idolatry the year before, and had come hither to Geneva. It is a cause for much praise to God, for he has many good qualities and much zeal for the Religion.

"In April, 1592, my son Nicholas was born, and my daughter Elizabeth in February, 1594. In November, 1595, my wife was delivered of twin sons, who were baptized, and named Theodore and Paul; but they were born prematurely, and the Lord was pleased to take them after a while.

"About this time my son Elias went into France, to pursue his studies in Law: I was averse at first to his going, but gave my consent to it on several accounts; and I earnestly pray God that he may do well.

"In 1597, my daughter Susanna was married to Monsieur Babtista de Saussure, son of Monsieur Dommartino, of Lausanne.

"In 1598, sickness again broke out at Geneva, and it pleased God to take away my son-in-law, Monsieur Fabricio Burlamachi, after two-and-a-half days' illness: This was a great grief to us all; for he was a delightful companion, well disposed, and of very good judgment, and I had hoped that he might succeed myself as the mainstay of our family; but it was the Lord's

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pleasure on this, as on many other occasions, to shew us the frailty of all earthly things. He was well advanced in the Religion, and gave up his spirit, full of zeal and faith. He died in our house; and we attended him to the last, full of grief and fear; for both our families were in evident danger: his consisted of his poor wife, a daughter of three years, and a son of seven weeks.

"With difficulty we removed for a time, and the Lord graciously preserved us from various attacks; which was a great blessing, considering the danger, and our afflictions in mind and body. This loss was one of my greatest trials, for my daughter loved her husband with an ardent and reciprocal affection; and now, at twenty-eight years old, she was reduced to a widow, having enjoyed his company only some months, for all the rest of his time he was in France, following the Court through troubles and dangers: Still in this matter also, the Lord did not fail to assist us, and to comfort us by His mercy.

"In May, 1598, my son Alexander was born; his godfather was Mr. Francisco Turrettini.

"Here end the Observations of Mr. Pompeo Deodati, written by his own hand."

N.B.—The diction being rather strained and un-English in the original, the AUTHOR has modified it in these respects.

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